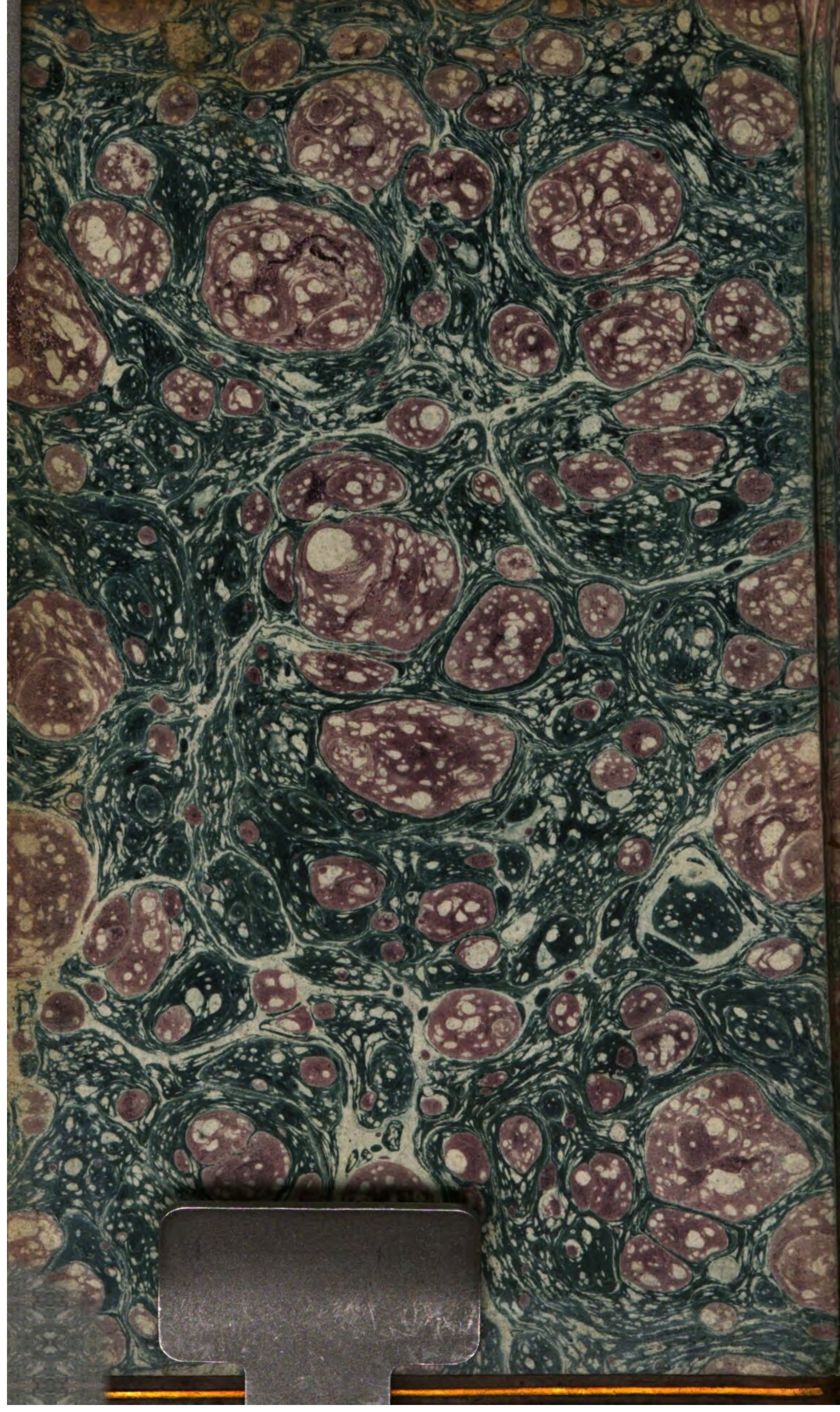
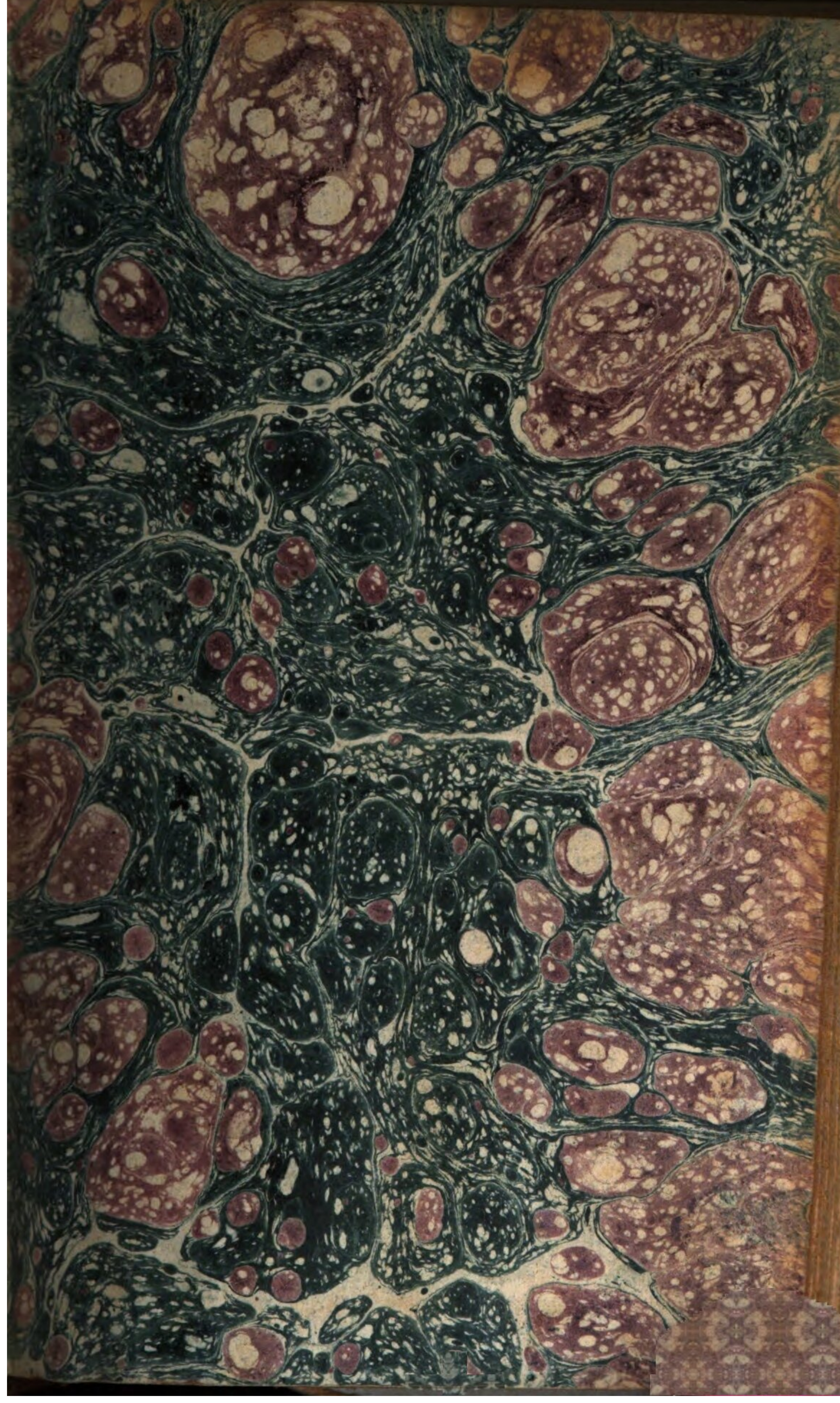






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R E M A R K S
ON
THE HISTORY OF SCOTLAND.

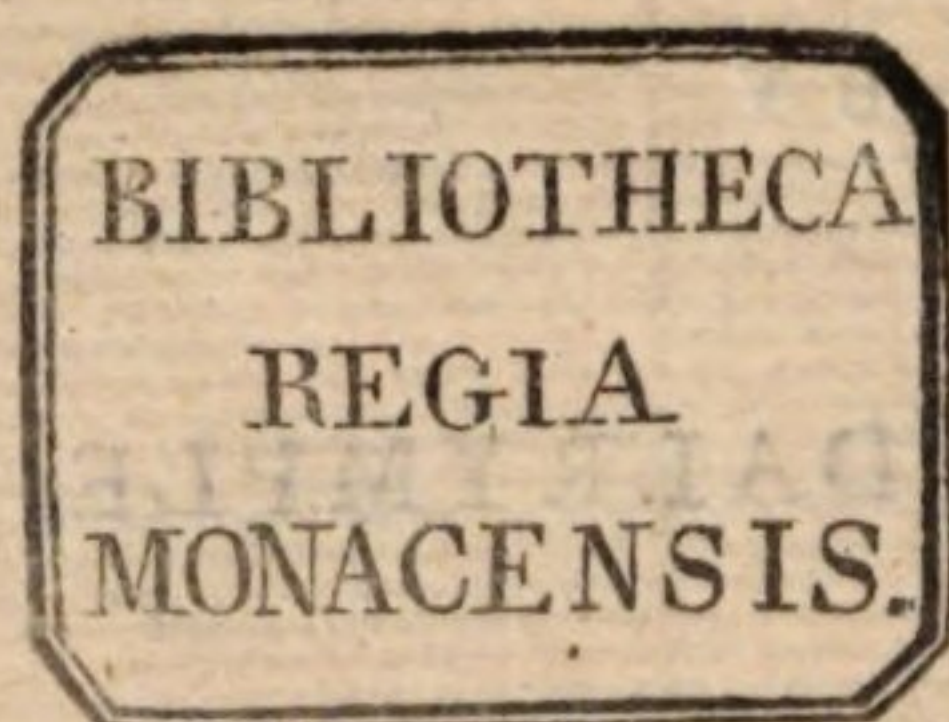
BY
SIR DAVID DALRYMPLE.

Utinam tam facile vera invenire possem, quam falsa
convincere. CICERO. TUSC. QUÆST.

EDINBURGH:

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M, DCC, LXXIII.



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TO

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CHAP. I.

ALLIANCE between CHARLEMAGNE and ACHAIUS King of SCOTLAND.

HAD a Scotsman, in the last age, ventured to suspect that *the alliance between the Emperor Charlemagne and Achaius King of Scotland* was a silly fable, he would have been deemed an enemy of his country.

Even at this day, I hardly venture to express my doubts as to the historical evidence of that alliance.

The only cotemporary writer, quoted for proof of this alliance, is Eginhart. He says of Charlemagne, ‘*Scotorum quoque Reges sic habuit ad suam voluntatem*

‘ luntatem per *suam suam munificentiam*
 ‘ inclinatos, ut eum nunquam aliter quam
 ‘ Dominum, seque *subditos ac servos* ejus
 ‘ pronunciarent. Exstant epistolae ab *eis*
 ‘ ad illum missae, quibus hujusmodi af-
 ‘ fectus *eorum* erga illum indicatur *.’

I hold Eginhart to be of undoubted authority : He certainly speaks of letters which he himself had perused : Hence the following circumstances may be collected :

1. That *they* who addressed the letters to Charlemagne were called *Kings of the Scots*, or *Scotorum Reges*. How this is reconcileable with the national hypothesis, that Achaius was the single sovereign of the Scots at that aera, I leave to

* *De Vita Caroli Magni*, c. 16. p. 79. edit. Schimckii.

to be decided by those whom it may concern ; for my part, I do no more than quote Eginhart.

2. That the Emperor ‘ Scotorum
 ‘ Reges habuit ad suam voluntatem per
 ‘ suam munificentiam inclinatos ;’
 which, as I suppose, may imply, ‘ That
 ‘ Charlemagne gave money, and that
 ‘ the Kings of Scotland took money.’
 In the course of this dissertation, I shall
 have occasion to shew, by probable con-
 jecture at least, under what pretext the
 liberality of Charlemagne was bestowed
 and received.

3. That they who sent the letters
 to Charlemagne called themselves his
subditi et servi. This seems not to be
 the language of Princes when treating
 of an equal and reciprocal alliance.—A-
 bercrombie was aware of this, and there-
 fore

fore he misconstrues the words thus:
 ‘ They subscribed themselves *his most*
 ‘ *humble servants,*’ omitting *subditos*,
 and softening *servos* *.

Mr

* Abercrombie. vol. i. p. 112. says,
 ‘ that *Scotorum Reges* cannot mean the
 ‘ Princes of Ireland; for that Isidorus His-
 ‘ palensis, who lived about the year 620,
 ‘ is the latest author that gives Ireland the
 ‘ name of Scotland.’ I believe that, by
Scotorum Reges, the *Princes of Scotland* are to
 be understood; but not for the reason given
 by Abercrombie. The inhabitants of Ire-
 land were termed *Scoti* after the aera of
 Charlemagne. To this purpose Bollandus
ad Eginhart, d. l. quotes Annal. Fr. ex MSS.
 Loiselii, anno 812. ‘ *Classis etiam Nortman-*
 ‘ *orum, Hiberniam Scotorum insulam adgressa,*
 ‘ *commissoque cum Scotis praelio, parte non*
 ‘ *modicâ Nortmannorum interfectâ, turpiter*
 ‘ *fugiendo domum reversa est.*’ To the
 same effect, he quotes other MSS. Chronicles.

Mr Goodall also was aware of this; and therefore he observes, ‘Posteriores
 ‘etiam Reges, forma haud absimili,
 ‘Francorum Reges compellasse videntur.
 ‘Certe Johannes Balliolus his verbis
 ‘infit: *Excellentissimo Principi Domi-*
 ‘*no suo et amico, si placet Domino Philip-*
 ‘*po, Dei gratia, Regi Francorum illu-*
 ‘*stri* *.’

It is natural to presume, that Mr Goodall felt himself sorely pinched for precedents, when he appealed to the authority of John Balliol. It happens unfortunately for his argument, that John Balliol was the vassal of the King of France; and consequently could not, with propriety, address himself to that King in any other language than that
 of

* *Introductio ad Fordun.* p. 69.

of *Dominus suus*. Besides, Mr Goodall has totally overlooked the only phrase in Eginhart (*subditi et servi*) which required explanation.

4. But the most material observation of all is, that the passage in Eginhart gives no hint, either directly or indirectly, of a mutual alliance between Charlemagne and Achaius ; and yet a shoal of writers have appealed to the evidence of Eginhart as conclusive on this great national point !

The next authority, in order of time, is an anonymous writer, who, in the days of the Emperor Arnolphus, [between 887 and 899], composed a metrical life of Charlemagne. He thus speaks :

“ *Scotorum*

“ *Scotorum Reges* ipsum Dominum vocitabant,

“ Et se *subjectos* ipsius et *famulos*.

“ Hoc apices ab *eis* missi testantur ad illum,

“ Quorum claret amor maximus alloquio.”

The work of this anonymous writer is merely a paraphrase of Eginhart, in what a rude age might imagine to be elegiac verse. To quote Eginhart as one authority, and the anonymous writer as another, is like quoting Boece and Belenden as two different authors.

Our antiquaries triumphantly appeal to *Conardus Abbas Urspergensis*, in *Chron. in descriptione terrae Hunnorum*, where, among the Princes allied with Charlemagne, he makes mention of *Scotorum Reges*; but they ought to have remembered, that this annalist lived in the thirteenth century, four hundred years after the death of Charlemagne; and

and they *must* have observed, that he does no more than transcribe the well known passage in Eginhart.

Bart. Strachan ; *Germania Christiana* *, gives a long roll of authorities in proof of *the alliance*. This, as a specimen of his accuracy in critical selection, I here subjoin :

‘ *Paulus Æmilius*, L. ii. de gestis Fran-
 ‘ *corum*. *Polydorus Vergilius*, Hist. An-
 ‘ *gliae*. *Paulus Jovius* in descriptione
 ‘ *Scotiae*. *Philippus Belleforestus* in
 ‘ Hist. Galliae, L. i. *Scipio Dupleix* in
 ‘ *annalibus Francorum*. *Demochares*
 ‘ L. i. de Sacrificio Misilae, in Catalogo
 ‘ *Episcoporum Verdensium*. *Renatus*
 ‘ *Chopinus Andegavensis*, de Dominio
 ‘ Gallico,

* P. 26. et seq. MS. 4to, Advocates Library, Edinburgh.

‘ Gallico, L. iii. Tit. 3*. *Franciscus San-*
 ‘ *sovinus*, L. iii. Chron. Mund †. *Rai-*
 ‘ *mundus Mailianus* in indice Com. Jul.
 ‘ Caefaris, v. Britannia. *Johannes Ca-*
 ‘ *rion*. L. iii. Chron. *Fredericus Scotus*
 ‘ *Placentinus*.’

Such is the ragged regiment of authorities collected by B. Strachan, fit only to pass muster before a canonist, or a glossator! Had the number been ten times as great, all as modern, and all of as little credit, they would have afforded no aid to the hypothesis of *the ancient French alliance*.

B

The

* He ought to have quoted *de Domanio Franciae*, L. i. Tit. 26. § 21. and *De Legibus Andium*, L. i. Tit. 41. p. 367.

† He should have quoted *Sansovinus delle origine delle case illustri d' Italia*. P. 111. 4to, 1609.

The passages in *Fredericus Scotus Placentinus* and *Sanfovinus* are so singular in matter and composition, that my readers may be entertained with the perusal of them.

Among the companions in war of Prince William, brother of King Achaius, *Fredericus Scotus* mentions a William Douglas, who fixed his residence at Placentia.

“ Ac Scotiae Regi confanguinitate propinquus,
 “ Comarchusque boni diceris ipse loci,
 “ Nempe Duglassi nomen, domus unde tenens
 “ quod
 “ Nostra *insigne* vel hoc tempore gestat *idem*.”

The poetry of this elegant passage can only be equalled by the historical precision of the author, who speaks of the family of Douglas as flourishing
 in

in the days of Charlemagne, and his faithful ally King Achaius.

Sanfovinus thus ſpeaks : ‘ Quando
 ‘ Carlo Magno fece l’ imprefa in Italia
 ‘ contra Defiderio re di Longobardi
 ‘ l’anno 779, hebbe per ſuo condottiero
 ‘ di huomini d’ arme un Guglielmo
 ‘ Scozzefe della famiglia de Conti de
 ‘ Douglaſi, connumerata fra le principali
 ‘ del regno per la parentela che eſſa
 ‘ aveva col ſanguie reale, et *della quale*
 ‘ *ancora a di noſtri uno di eſſa caſa fu*
 ‘ *tutore della regina di Scotia fanciulla.*’

He then ſays, that this William, of the family of the Earls of Douglas, fixed his reſidence at Placentia in Italy; and that he married a daughter of ‘ An-
 ‘ tonio Spettino, di honoratiſſima caſa al
 ‘ preſente eſtinta, dalla quale havuti
 ‘ diverſi

‘ diversi figliuoli che furono comune-
 ‘ mente detti *gli Scotti*, per effer nati
 ‘ di huomo Scozzese, fondo la famiglia
 ‘ Scotta, si come nella Cronica di
 ‘ Piacenza ristretta da Umberto Locato
 ‘ si legge.’

Sanfovinus next quotes *Giovanni Vescovo*, i. e. Bp. Lesley, [Lib. 5. p. 175. L. 8. p. 325. edit. Rom.] and, from his words grossly misunderstood, he draws this inference, ‘ si conofce adunque dalle
 ‘ dette parole che due fratelli Scozzesi
 ‘ vennero in Italia, l’ uno in arme, et l’
 ‘ altro in lettere eccellenti, nel tempo di
 ‘ Carolo Magno *.’

Let

* This fine story in Sanfovino was too valuable to be overlooked by Sir Robert Douglas: He omits, however, ‘ the Douglas who was tutor to Q. Mary during
 ‘ her

Let us now turn to our own historians who have treated of this alliance. It would be lost labour to recapitulate what has been said by Buchanan, Lesly, Chambers

‘her non-age.’ This circumstance was judiciously omitted, for that the mentioning it would have proved Sanfovino to be the writer of a peerage fraught with adulation and ignorance.

It is not strange that the family of Scotti should have chosen to be allied to the house of Douglas; but it is strange that the house of Douglas should have admitted the claim. Its fame requires not such adscititious ornaments.

But, say our genealogists, ‘The family of Scotti in Placentia bears the coat of Douglas.†’ I might answer, that it is *a good coat*; and that the Scotti have made a judicious choice. If the sameness of coats armorial

† Hume’s history of the house of Douglas, p. 8. &c.

Chambers of Ormond, and the other fanciful or servile copyists of Boece. I therefore go back to one from whom Boece himself fancifully copied.

Fordun. L. iii. l. 57. c. 58. mentions this alliance as a story credited in his days, [14th century.] His words are:
 ‘ Per aliqua temporum curricula, ante-
 ‘ quam regnasset Achaius, sui viz. tem-
 ‘ pore

armorial proves a sameness of family, then the King of Sweden and Grant of Freuchie are sprung from one common ancestor, since the institution of coats armorial. See a MS. of Blazon in the Advocates library, which belonged to Sir David Lindefay, in the reign of James V. I say nothing of the coat armorial of the family of Douglas in *the eighth century*! I see no evidence of *any coats armorial* in Scotland before William the Lion, who began to reign in 1165.

‘ pore praedecefforis, Anglorum reges,
 ‘ fuperatis Britonibus, erecti fuperbiâ,
 ‘ non folum vicinas in eadem infula
 ‘ gentes, Scotos, Pictos et Britones, in-
 ‘ quietare fibi fuffecerat, fed et tranfma-
 ‘ rinas Gallorum gentes etiam mariti-
 ‘ mas navali praedâ faepius affligere,
 ‘ totumque mare Belgicum atque Bri-
 ‘ tannicum pertubare fatagebant. Erat
 ‘ his diebus idem rex invictiffimus Caro-
 ‘ lus, affiduè paganorum intentus bellis,
 ‘ et ut Christianis omnibus infatigabili la-
 ‘ bore, fuique fanguinis effufione, pacem
 ‘ acquireret, occupatus. Cum igitur a
 ‘ rapinis hujusmodi piraticis, et Christia-
 ‘ norum effufione fanguinis, etiam ab
 ‘ ipfo faepius rogati, minime defierant,
 ‘ illorum ad refrenandam faevitiam, a-
 ‘ micos undique venari fatagebat, et e-
 ‘ os praecipue quos in fuam perniciem
 ‘ noverat

‘ noverat ardentius insudare ; denique
 ‘ *nuncios* ubilibet emittens, quorum
 ‘ *Achaio regi quosdam direxit : Cum qui-*
 ‘ *bus iterum et ipse suos, ejusdem negotii*
 ‘ *per eum in omnibus approbati remisit*
 ‘ *bajulos, ut initi foederis et amicitiae*
 ‘ *conventiones et pacta, sub aequis con-*
 ‘ *ditionibus, firmarentur, et, indentatis*
 ‘ *redacta scriptis, utriusque regis mu-*
 ‘ *nimine alternatim signarentur.*’

Fordun says, that such was the origin
 of the alliance between France and
 Scotland, [*occafio prima fuit.*]

He seeks to support his narrative by
 a passage in a letter from Alcuin to Offa
 king of the Mercians. ‘ *Sciat reveren-*
 ‘ *da dilectio vestra, quod dominus rex*
 ‘ *Carolus amabiliter mecum de vobis*
 ‘ *locutus est, et in eo fidelissimum ha-*
 ‘ *betis amicum ; vestraeque dilectioni*
 ‘ *digna*

‘ digna dirigit munera, et per episco-
 ‘ pales fedes regni vestri. Similiter et
 ‘ Æthelredo regi Northumbriae [qui et
 ‘ Æthelbertus dicebatur], et ad suas
 ‘ episcoporum fedes, dona direxit. Sed,
 ‘ heu, proh dolor! donis datis, et epistolis
 ‘ in manus missorum, supervenit tristis
 ‘ legatio, *per nuncios qui de Scotia ve-*
 ‘ *nerant, et per vos reversi sunt*, de infi-
 ‘ delitate gentis, et ipsius nece regis *.’

Fordun.

* This passage in Alcuin’s epistles is curious. From it, and Charlemagne’s letter to Offa, the time of the death of Æthelred or Æthelbert, king of Northumberland, may be ascertained.

The Saxon chronicle says, ‘ 794. Ethelredus Northanhymbrorum rex a gente propria interemptus est.’

With this account, the chronicle of Melrofs concurs, ‘ Anno 794. Northumbri
 ‘ occiderunt

Fordun has varied one word in Alcuin's letter, and reads *nuncios* instead of *missos*. Alcuin's words are : ' Do-
' nis datis, et epistolis in manus misso-
' rum,

' occiderunt regem suum Ethelredum filium
' Moll.'

The letter from Charlemagne to Offa runs thus : ' Cognoscat dilectio vestra,
' quod aliquam benignitatem de Dalmaticis
' nostris vel palliis ad singulas sedes epis-
' copales regni vestri vel *Ethelredi* direximus,
' in eleemosynam domini apostolici Adri-
' ani, deprecantes ut pro eo intercedi jube-
' atis, nullam habentes dubitationem *beatam*
' *illius animam in requie esse* ; sed ut fidem
' et dilectionem ostendamus in amicum
' nostrum charissimum ;' Apud *Canisium*,
Lectiones Antiquae, tom. 2. p. 420. edit.
Bafnage.

It would lead me into digression upon di-
gression, were I to illustrate the nature of the
presents sent by Charlemagne to the petty
kings

‘rum, supervenit tristis legatio per *missos* qui de Scotia venerant, et per vos
 ‘reversi sunt.’

I have
 kings of England, &c. It may suffice to
 observe, that Charlemagne had conveyed
 certain donations to the episcopal sees in
 the kingdom of *Ethelred*, in order that in-
 tercession might be made for the soul of
 Pope Adrian the First, although the Em-
 peror doubted not of his salvation.

Adrian I. died in the end of 795; *Platina*
de vitis Pontificum, fol. 42. 6. edit. Nu-
 renberg. anno 1481.

It follows, that the letter of Charlemagne
 to Offa could not have been written before
 796, and that in 796 Ethelred was still alive,
 at least, that his death was not known on
 the Continent.

Alcuin's letter to Offa appears to have
 been written at no long interval after that
 of Charlemagne. It follows, that the death
 of

I have shewn, in a note, that the letter from Charlemagne to Offa King of the Mercians, and the letter from Alcuin, which refers to it, could not be written sooner than the 796, and were probably written in that year.

From the passage in Alcuin, it seems probable, that, in 796, Charlemagne had sent ambassadors into Scotland: That, at the same time, he sent, or purposed to send, ambassadors to the kings of Northumberland and Mercia, accompanied with presents.

It is natural to suppose that Charlemagne would value the prayers of the
Scottish

of Ethelred did not happen at a later period than 796.

If Ethelred was murdered in 794, as the Saxon Chronicle reports, it is incredible that Charlemagne should have been ignorant of that event in 796.

Scottish nation for the repose of Pope Adrian, as much as he did the prayers of Æthelred and Offa.

We may therefore conjecture, that the embassy to Scotland in 796 had the same religious pretext as the embassy, in the same year, to England. This will lead us to the true interpretation of the passage in Eginhart: ‘*Scotorum Reges habuit ad suam voluntatem, per suam munificentiam, inclinos.*’ And it may account for the style of the letters which Eginhart reports to have been addressed to Charlemagne from the princes of Scotland.

Further, if the *Missi de Scotia* returned to Charlemagne in 796, it follows, that, even according to Fordun’s own story, they were not the ambassadors who concluded the alliance; for
that

that he intimates that the alliance was concluded in the third year of Achaius, who began to reign in 787, that is, in 790, *six* years before the embassy mentioned by Alcuin.

The most ample materials for the history of the French alliance are furnished by Hector Boece. He has favoured us with the original harangues pronounced by the ambassadors of Charlemagne, in presence of the king and parliament of Scotland.

This is a momentous circumstance: It shews that it was Charlemagne who mendicated the alliance of Achaius, not Achaius of Charlemagne.

On this occasion there appeared a great diversity of sentiments in the Scottish parliament.

Colman,

Colman, governor of Mar, spoke against continental connexions.

He was answered by Albion, recently appointed governor of the Hebrides.

In the days of Achaius the arguments of *the new placeman* were so favourably heard, that the house agreed to the alliance without a vote.

To the assistance of Charlemagne *four thousand* fighting men were dispatched, under the command of William the brother of King Achaius. To each thousand fighting men one learned man was added. Boece gravely says, that the famous Alcuin was one of the number *.

That

* *Spotswood*, History of the Church of Scotland, p. 22. says, "The English writers will have
" him

That the memory of this alliance might be perpetuated, Achaius made an addition to the Scottish arms, a double treffure of fleurs de lis.

It

“ him born in their country, not far from
 “ the city of York, to which I only say,
 “ that the English, at that time, being ad-
 “ versaries to the French and Scots, speaking
 “ of them as common enemies to both peo-
 “ ple, it is not probable, if he had been of
 “ the English nation, that he would be so in-
 “ ward with Charles the Great.” The
 English writers said no more, as to the place
 of Alcuin’s birth, than what Alcuin himself
 had said: Even Dr M’Kenzie has given
 up all right to him; *Scottish writers*, vol. i.
 p. 63. Alcuin gives a singular advice to the
 Yorkshire clergy, “ not to scour over
 “ the country, hallowing at a fox chase.”
 “ Non per campos discurrentes, vulpes
 “ agitando, declament.” *Canis. Lectiones*
Antiquae, tom. 2. p. 451.

It would seem that Charlemagne ought rather to have found place for the Scottish lion in his own coat armorial ; the addition, at least, ought to have been reciprocal, as was the alliance.

How William Prince of Scotland defeated the Hungarians and the Normans ; how he rebuilt Florence ; and how live lions are fed at Florence, in honour of his coat armorial, we may read at reasonable length in Hector Boece, and in many a faithful transcriber of his patriotic romances.

It is to be wished that our historians had made the reign of Achaius to begin somewhat earlier ; for that, according to their hypothesis, as it now stands, the troops of the alliance, with Prince William at their head, are excluded

D

from

from any share in the Italian laurels of Charlemagne. Achaius began to reign in 787 ; but Charlemagne had overthrown the kingdom of the Lombards before 779.

Had our historians given any attention to this circumstance, they would have crowned Achaius in 770 ; and thus left room for Prince William to display his prowess in the whole course of the Italian wars.

In support of the French alliance, Mr Goodall produces an argument from a letter by the king of France to the States of Scotland, and from their answer in 1308*.

The occasion of the letter was this :
The King of France requested the Scots
to

* *Introductio ad Fordun.* p. 69.

to engage in a croifade for the recovery of Palestine: While urging his superstitious or interested request, he reminded them of their old alliance with France.

The estates of Scotland made answer :
 ‘ In vestra credentia vidimus contineri,
 ‘ quod regia confiderat gratitudo, et
 ‘ reducit in animum confoederationes
 ‘ Franciae et Scotiae *olim* habitas et
 ‘ firmatas.’ And, after some compliments to the king, on his zeal, they excused themselves, by reason of the exhausted state of their country.

Here Mr Goodall remarks : ‘ Ex his
 ‘ literis patet, Gallorum pariter et Scottorum reges populosque, ante *quadringenta quinquaginta* circiter annos,
 ‘ foedera inter se mutua *pro vetustis*
 ‘ agnovisse, deque eorum *antiquitate*
 ‘ haud

‘ haud aliter fere tunc locutos fuisse
 ‘ quam hodie loquimur. Alterutram
 ‘ vero gentem hac in re deceptam, alte-
 ‘ ramve fallere voluisse, vix fingi potest.’

That is, because 450 years ago, men-
 tion was made of an old alliance, *that*
 alliance had then endured for more than
 500 years.

Indeed, the word *olim* is of an un-
 determined meaning ; It may be ap-
 plied to every thing that did not hap-
 pen *nuper*. A certain grammarian
 justly termed it *adverbium omnium hora-
 rum*. It may relate to what has hap-
 pened, or what may happen in the course
 of the life of man. It may, with equal
 propriety, be applied to an alliance
 made *fifty* or an *hundred* years ago, as
 to one made *five hundred* years ago.

Although

Although the French had meant to say, that the alliance was 500 years old, and the estates of Scotland had been persuaded that *it was not quite so old*, there would have been neither reason nor decency in the one contradicting what the other had averred. Scotland, no doubt, was the more ancient monarchy, yet France was the monarchy the best known. An alliance with France, of five hundred years standing, was not dishonourable even to Scotland.

Mr Goodall says, that it is impossible to suppose, that the one nation could either be deceived, or could mean to deceive the other ; yet the same men who returned this answer to the king of France did certainly assure the Pope,
 ‘ That their ancestors had come from
 ‘ Spain to Scotland long before the
 ‘ com-

‘ commencement of the Christian aera ;
 ‘ and that they had been ruled by 113
 ‘ native sovereigns in an uninterrupted
 ‘ line.’

Is it possible to suppose, that they
 could either be deceived themselves, or
 could have meant to deceive *the chair of*
verity ?

Mr Goodall, indeed, goes farther
 back than Charlemagne, and observes,
 that, ‘ inter has gentes amicitiam in-
 ‘ tercessisse, Scotisque privilegia singu-
 ‘ laria a Francorum regibus ante Ca-
 ‘ rolum Magnum concessa fuisse, per
 ‘ Carolum ipsum docemur.’

He quotes a mandate to this pur-
 pose : ‘ Karolus commendat omnibus
 ‘ qui acceperunt aliquod de ecclesia
 ‘ Scottorum quae est in insula Honau-
 ‘ gia, ut iterum reddat omne quod re-
 ‘ cepit,

‘ cepit, vel quod rapuit, sine licentia
 ‘ Abbatis Beati.—Quia reges Franco-
 ‘ rum libertatem dederunt omnibus pe-
 ‘ regrinis Scottorum, ut nullus rapiat
 ‘ aliquid de bonis eorum, nec ulla ge-
 ‘ neratio, praeter eorum generationem,
 ‘ possideat ecclesias eorum *.”

These are the very dregs of an hypothesis. Granting that by *Scotti* the Emperor meant the inhabitants of the northern parts of Britain, I see nothing here of the reciprocal amity of nations, nothing of extraordinary privileges granted to the Scots.

Sir Robert Sibbald has published a whole treatise on *the alliance* †. Sir
 Robert

* *Introductio*. pag. ult.

† Answer to the second letter to the Right Reverend the Lord Bishop of Carlisle. Edinburgh, 8vo, 1704.

Robert was rather a friend of antiquities, than an antiquary. His zeal in making collections may atone for his great deficiencies in learning and accuracy. I will but slightly touch upon some of the evidences which he has produced.

1. From a seal of King William, ‘ bearing a lion rampant, with a double treffure *contre fleurie*, with *fleurs de lis* ;’ and from a like seal of Alexander II. he draws this conclusion : ‘ From these it appeareth, that the league with France continued in the days of King William and King Alexander II.’ P. 112. Q. E. D. !

2. James V. in 1528, informs the magistracy of Ratibon, that the founder of the abbacy of St James at Ratibon, ‘ D. Carolo rei Christianae
‘ molem

‘molem sustinenti auxilio ut esset ab A-
 ‘chaio fratre, Scotorum rege, cum lecta
 ‘juventute missus, post res fortiter bene-
 ‘que gestas, amplissima dominia, labo-
 ‘rum mercedem, pro gentis suae gloria,
 ‘certis legibus Deo dicavit;’ p. 13.

James V. informed the magistrates of Ratisbon of this momentous circumstance, and *that* upon the authority of the abbot himself. Upon the like authority, he might have informed them, that the Carmelites had the prophet Elijah for their founder.

Could these monks have proved, by authentic writings, that the brother of King Achaius was their founder, the world would never have heard of the certificate from James V.

3. James V. in 1528, made a grant of arms to Nicolas Combet of Dieppe,

E

viz.

viz. ‘ Duplicem regis armorum circu-
 ‘ lum, vulgo, *double tressure fleure contre*
 ‘ *fleurie, praedecessoribus nostris per bonae*
 ‘ *memoriae Carolum Magnum CONCES-*
 ‘ *SUM;*’ p. 110.

And did our faithful affociate Charle-
 magne *grant* an augmentation of arms
 to our King Achaius?

They whom it may concern, may
 adjust this with the independent sove-
 reignty of Scotland *.

It

* It would have been a fit subject for
 poor Sir Robert Sibbald, who has display-
 ed his philological literature upon the
 nouns, *amicitia, munificentia, and affectus*.

Dr Pitcairn held Sir Robert Sibbald in
 sovereign contempt. He has ridiculed him
 over and over, in prose and in verse.

Nevertheless,

Yet it disturbs not me, for that I can perceive nothing in it but the opinion of an herald, credulous as the age in which his art was invented.

4. Sir

Nevertheless, Sir Robert fought to praise Dr Pitcairn, and *that*, by no less a performance, than an ode in Sapphic measure.

Dr Pitcairn had drawn up a treatise, entitled, *Universa Morborum Oculi Theoria Geometricè tradita*. From the title, I conjecture, that the treatise would have proved an ingenious absurdity, a system without experiments. Sir Robert Sibbald, however, resolved to praise it with a safe conscience, before he had read it. The last stanza of his ode runs thus :

“ Cassius quaerit *luminisque morbi*

“ Jam diu *mente* meditata, lucem

“ Videant tandem, viridesque neſcent

“ Tum tibi lauros.”

4. Sir Robert quotes Mezerai, [*Abregé Chronologique.*] He, who wrote his history from ancient records, says, ‘ 790. ‘ Cette mesme année commenca, a ce ‘ qu’ on tient, l’ alliance indissoluble ‘ d’ entre la France et l’ Escoffe, Charles ‘ ayant envoyé un secours de quatre ‘ mille hommes au Roy Achaius.’

Here we have quite another story. It seems that it was Charlemagne who sent the aid of 4000 men.

But Sir Robert makes this easy : ‘ The league, says he, being for mutual ‘ succour to one another, the one followed the other ;’ p. 22.

That is, Charlemagne and Achaius, in token of mutual friendship, exchanged four thousand men. I suppose that, to save unnecessary charges, the fleet of transports which conveyed the French
army

army to Scotland, returned with the Scottish to France.

Had Sir Robert looked a little farther, he would have seen that Mezerai disregarded our story of the 4000 Scots. He says : ‘ Reciproquement il (Charles-magne) receut de lui dans toutes ses guerres *quelques troupes* et son frere *puifné**.’

Had Mezerai discovered the alliance in *the ancient records from which he wrote his history*, he would not have said *l’ on tient*.

Our antiquaries, I presume, will not be much edified with the *l’ on tient* of Mezerai.

It has sometimes amused me, to observe how we export our raw materials of history, and then bring them back manufactured from the continent: Thus
we

* *Histoire de France*, tom. i. p. 412.

we appeal to the foreign testimony of Mezerai for proof of facts which he delivered on the authority of Boece alone.

Before I dismiss the subject of King Achaius, I cannot avoid remarking, that the chronicle of Melros says : ‘ Anno
 ‘ 781, obiit Fergus Rex Scotorum, cui
 ‘ successit *Selvand* filius ejus.’ And again : ‘ Anno 804, obiit *Selvad* Rex
 ‘ Scotorum *.’ He plainly is the *Selvachius* of Fordun, and the *Solvathius* of Boece, said to have been the immediate predecessor of Achaius. The chronicle of Melros must be wrong. If it be right, our renowned Achaius, the cotemporary and ally of Charlemagne, is annihilated.

If it be asked, When did the alliance between France and Scotland commence?

* *Chr. Melros*. p. 139-141

mence? I answer, When the two nations saw that mutual aid was necessary, and could be afforded.

As nearly as I can judge, this concurrence of circumstances happened in the reign of William the Lyon; and from that aera I presume to date the alliance between France and Scotland.

CHAP.

C H A P. II.

Whether M A L C O L M IV. acknowledged himself the V A S S A L of H E N R Y II. for Lothian in Scotland.

‘ **H** E N R Y II. likewise insisted,
 ‘ and not without an ancient
 ‘ claim, that Malcolm should acknow-
 ‘ ledge himself his vassal for Lothian ;’
Lyttleton, life of Henry II. vol. 2. p. 328.
 8vo edition.

‘ Some of the modern Scotch histo-
 ‘ rians having denied the fact here as-
 ‘ serted, I think it proper to give my
 ‘ authorities, with some short observa-
 ‘ tions. The words of Diceto, [Imag.
 ‘ histor.] under the year 1147, are these ;
 ‘ Melcho-

‘ Melchomus rex Scotorum reddidit ei
 ‘ (Henrico, scilicet) civitatem Carleul,
 ‘ Castrum super Tinam, et *comitatum*
 ‘ *Lodonensem* *.’ ‘ The Norman
 ‘ chronicle of Robertus de Monte has
 ‘ also these words : “ Hoc anno Mal-
 ‘ comus rex Scotorum reddidit Hen-
 ‘ rico regi quicquid habebat de dominio
 ‘ suo, id est, civitatem Carluith, Castrum
 ‘ Baemburch, Novum Castrum super
 ‘ Tinam, et *comitatum Lodonensem*.” As
 F these

* His Lordship has *commitatem Lodonensem*.
 I suppose that this is a typographical error,
 for *comitatum*. If it be not, and the MSS. of
 Diceto bear *commitatem*, then the word is
 evidently a contraction of *communitatem*.
 Should it prove to be so, the whole face of
 the controversy will be changed. *Communitas*
Lodonensis, can never signify the county of Lo-
 thian.

‘ these are both contemporary testimo-
 ‘ nies, they are of great weight ; and
 ‘ I may add to them the annals of Wa-
 ‘ verley and Matthew Paris. Yet, I
 ‘ presume, they are all inaccurate in gi-
 ‘ ving the reader to understand, that
 ‘ the county of Lothian was restored to
 ‘ King Henry in the same manner as the
 ‘ other places there mentioned ; for,
 ‘ only the *sovereignty* of it was yielded
 ‘ to him ; the country being still pos-
 ‘ sessed by Malcolm, but held in fief of
 ‘ the English crown, as it had been by
 ‘ Kenneth the third, and other kings of
 ‘ Scotland ;’ *Ibid.* Not. p. 482.

When I declare my sentiments to be
 different from those of Lord Lyttelton,
 it must be owing, either to the force of
 conviction,

conviction, or to prejudices undistinguishable from conviction*.

Hitherto I have not seen convincing evidence, ‘ that Malcolm IV. acknowledged himself the vassal of Henry II. for Lothian in Scotland.’

The authority of the annalist of Waverley, [p. 159.] and of Matthew Paris, [p. 68.] ought to be laid out of the question. What those historians deliver is merely a literal transcript from Diceto.

The words of Diceto and Robertus de Monte, in their most obvious meaning, import, that Malcolm IV. *restored* to Henry II. Carlisle, Bamburgh,
Newcastle

* In extolling the life of *Henry II.* as the work of a masterly writer and a virtuous politician, I do no more than repeat the sentiments of the public,

Newcastle upon Tine, and the *comitatus Lodonensis* ; that is, that all the parcels were restored in the same manner.

Reddidit plainly means, *il rendit*, he rendered up or restored.

The noble author is under the necessity of supposing that the historians
 ‘ are all inaccurate in giving the reader
 ‘ to understand, that the county of Lo-
 ‘ thian was restored to King Henry in
 ‘ the same manner as the other places
 ‘ there mentioned ; for only the sove-
 ‘ reignty of it was yielded to him, the
 ‘ country being still possessed by Malcolm.’

His Lordship saw the improbability of the historians giving two distinct senses to the word *reddidit*. In the course of a very short sentence, they could not be supposed to diversify the
 word

word *reddidit*, so as to make it imply
 ‘ that Malcolm restored to Henry the
 ‘ *possession* of Carlile, Bamburgh, and
 ‘ Newcastle, and the *sovereignty* of the
 ‘ *comitatus Lodonensis*.’

He therefore holds, that they are inaccurate, and that their words convey a false idea to the reader.

Happily this controversy is rather of curiosity than of importance; nevertheless, the same rules must be applied in judging of a curious, as of an important controversy.

Were this a matter of importance, would it be allowable to appeal to an instrument as decisive of the controversy, and yet to argue that the instrument was inaccurately conceived?

There is another reason why recourse ought not to be had to the inaccuracy
 in

in the expression used by the historians ; and it is *this* : If the expression used by the historians is accurate, then Malcolm restored to Henry the *possession* of whatever he restored. If he did this, then the *comitatus Lodonensis* cannot mean Lothian in Scotland ; for it is admitted, that Malcolm did not *restore the possession* of Lothian in Scotland to Henry. Malcolm, therefore, when *il rendit, rendered up, or reddidit comitatum Lodonensem*, restored to Henry a parcel of land situated in England.

And thus, if the historians speak *accurately*, the *comitatus Lodonensis*, according to their sense of the phrase, must be looked for in England, not in Scotland. If they speak *inaccurately*, it must be looked for in Scotland, not in England.

His

His Lordship adds, ‘ This county
 ‘ was still possessed by Malcolm, but
 ‘ held in fief of the English crown ; and
 ‘ for that reason it was, that, in paying
 ‘ his homage, he did it with a saving of
 ‘ his royal dignity, that it might appear
 ‘ it was only for this part of Scotland,
 ‘ not for the whole kingdom. Had he
 ‘ done homage only for the earldom of
 ‘ Huntingdon, there would have been
 ‘ *no need of this saving*, since his being
 ‘ a vassal for a county in England
 ‘ could not *justly* be supposed to im-
 ‘ peach his royal dignity as king of
 ‘ Scotland.’

Here it may be naturally observed,
 1. That *salvos* and limitations are fre-
 quently introduced into legal instru-
 ments, by reason of the excessive caution
 of

of the party, rather than from absolute necessity.

2. It is prudent to employ such salvoes and limitations, although not strictly necessary, whenever a weaker power covenants with one more mighty.

3. The salvo was not superfluous: On the contrary, the event but too fatally proved, that even all this caution was ineffectual. Notwithstanding the salvo offered by Malcolm, and accepted by Henry, Edward I. scrupled not to assert his sovereignty over all Scotland.

Further, his Lordship observes, ‘ that,
 ‘ in some way or other, it [Lothian in
 ‘ Scotland] was subject to Henry. A
 ‘ proof may be drawn from the words
 ‘ of Henry himself in the letters patent
 ‘ he gave to Dermot king of Leinster,
 ‘ the preamble of which is as follows :
 ‘ **Univerfis**

‘ *Universis fidelibus suis——Scotis——*
 ‘ [Girald. Cambr. Hibernia expugnata.
 ‘ l. i. c. 1.] The three northern coun-
 ‘ ties having before been recovered,
 ‘ the only Scottish subjects or liegemen
 ‘ Henry could have, at this time, were
 ‘ the Scots inhabiting Lothian ; unless
 ‘ we should suppose that some of that
 ‘ nation had fiefs in England, of which
 ‘ I find no evidence in records or histo-
 ‘ ry.’

I am not disposed to cavil at any evi-
 dence which his Lordship produces,
 though the evidence of Henry II. in
 proof of his own claims, is not unex-
 ceptionable.

But, waving this, 1. Does his Lord-
 ship suppose that *no* Scotsmen settled
 themselves in the northern counties
 while they were held by the kings of
 G Scotland ?

Scotland? Or, that *all* Scotsmen who had so settled, immediately relinquished their settlements, when the northern counties were restored to England?

Our forefathers were neither so averse to settling in foreign countries, nor so apt to relinquish their settlements when made.

2. Although it did not appear from records or history, that any of the Scottish nation had fiefs in England about the middle of the twelfth century, it would not follow that they had none. We know little of the history of private inheritances in the northern counties at that period.

3. Thus much, however, we know, that the family of Bruce did then possess, not only various manors in England, but also the Lordship of Annandale in Scotland.

Scotland. Bruce, in respect of his origin, might be termed *Francus*, of his estates in England, *Anglus*, of his estates in Scotland, *Scotus*. This of itself would be sufficient to explain and justify the use of the words ‘*fidelibus Scotis*,’ in the patent by Henry to Dermot king of Leinster.

4. It will certainly be admitted that Henry II. had at least one *fidelis Scotus* in Scotland, namely, Malcolm IV. by the tenure of the honour of *Huntedene*, corruptedly called Huntingdon.

5. I might add, that, as ‘*fidelibus Scotis*’ would have been a proper phrase in a grant by Henry II. while the king of Scotland possessed the northern counties; so it is natural to suppose that the phrase would remain in *the style of writs*, even after the king of Scotland had

had restored the northern counties. The language of public instruments does not immediately accommodate itself to every change which happens in the state. Of the truth of this remark, any one may satisfy himself by perusing the proclamations which are daily issued by royal authority.

Lord Lyttelton rejects the testimony of Fordun as too modern. But, since his Lordship appeals to John of Wallingford in proof of facts which happened during the reign of Edgar, we may appeal to Fordun in proof of facts which happened during the reign of Malcolm IV. The interval of time between Malcolm IV. and Fordun is not greater than that between Edgar and John of Wallingford.

Fordun's account of the treaty between Henry II. and Malcolm IV. is
plain

plain and artless, and bears an appearance of truth. His words are : ‘ Rex
 ‘ juvenis Malcolmus totius doli inscius,
 ‘ sed ad modum innocentis, credit omni
 ‘ facto, Regem adiens Henricum, apud
 ‘ Cestriam, ei hominium fecit, eo videli-
 ‘ cet modo quo avus suus rex David
 ‘ fuerat homo veteris Henrici Regis dic-
 ‘ ti Beauclerk——sperans ob hoc, pos-
 ‘ sessiones suas, *ut quidam autumant,*
 ‘ pacificentius possidere, dignitatibus
 ‘ suis tamen omnibus semper salvis.
 ‘ Quo tamen in loco, suos quosdam
 ‘ consiliarios, Anglorum, *ut fertur,* pe-
 ‘ cuniis illectos, execranda conflexit cu-
 ‘ piditas. Quorum mox ingenio rex
 ‘ fallaci seductus, eodem anno Nor-
 ‘ thumbriam Regi Angliae, suis, excep-
 ‘ tis paucis, inconsultis proceribus, red-
 ‘ didit, et Cumbriam ; cui propterea
 ‘ idem rex Angliae comitatum de Hun-
 ‘ tingdon,

‘ tingdon, qui fuit fratris sui David
 ‘ more [qu. jure] suo, restituit. Ob
 ‘ quam causam, totius Scotiae commu-
 ‘ nitas contra dominum suum regem,
 ‘ et suos partiales corruptos consiliarios,
 ‘ in odium unanimiter, murmure tamen
 ‘ tacito, concitatur*.’

Here Fordun mentions the popular report, that the ministers of Malcolm IV. had sold themselves to the king of England, and had betrayed the interest of their own sovereign. He also mentions the universal disgust which prevailed in Scotland on account of the cession of the northern counties.

He

* *Fordun*. Scotichr. l. 8. c. 3. I do not think it necessary to be accurate in distinguishing between Fordun and his continuator.

He probably would have spoken of the *comitatus Lodonensis*, had he known of any such territory distinct from the northern counties.

This would have served to aggravate the odium against the junto which governed the young and unexperienced Malcolm.

Neither would the circumstance of homage done for Lothian have affected the great national question. That question respected an ancient and general homage, not a recent homage for a particular territory.

There is a circumstance in Matthew of Westminster, quoted by Lord Lytton, which seems to confirm the hypothesis, that Malcolm IV. did not acknowledge himself the vassal of Henry II. for Lothian in Scotland. The passage is this : ‘ Dedit insuper ei Rex Edgarus

‘ garus mansiones in itinere plurimas,
 ‘ ut ipse et ejus successores ad festum
 ‘ venientes, ac denuo revertentes, hos-
 ‘ pitari valuissent, *quae usque in tempora*
 ‘ *Regis Henrici Secundi in potestate regum*
 ‘ *Scotiae remanserunt.*’

If the lodging-houses [or *gîtes*] here mentioned, ceased to be possessed by the kings of Scotland at the æra of Henry II. we may naturally conclude, that at that æra there was no further occasion for them; while the northern counties remained with the Scottish kings, under an obligation of homage to England, such lodging-houses were necessary; when the northern counties were absolutely restored to England, they became unnecessary; and therefore Matthew of Westminster properly observes, that, *usque in tempora*

Regis

‘ *Regis Henrici Secundi in potestate regum*
 ‘ *Scotiae remanserunt.*’

Had the *comitatus Lodonensis* been a territory separate from the northern counties, and for which homage was to be performed, even after the restitution of the northern counties, it follows, that the lodging-houses for the kings of Scotland would have been equally necessary in the reign of Henry II. as during any preceding period.

It may be said, that my argument is faulty, and that there must have been some other unknown cause for the suppression of those lodging-houses; for that Malcolm IV. confessedly remained the vassal of Henry II. in the county of Huntingdon.

My answer is, That Malcolm was the vassal of Henry II. in the county of

H

Huntington,

Huntington, not as king of Scotland, but as a private man, by a claim of inheritance, which Henry II. admitted. There could be no reason for maintaining those lodging-houses, in order to accommodate a vassal, who, as to the county of Huntington, was a simple individual.

It is with some surprise that I observe his Lordship appealing to the homage done by Kenneth king of Scotland to Edgar. I imagined that that homage had been at rest.

Since it has been revived, I must be permitted to state the evidence of it, and make my remarks.

Florence of Worcester says, That,
 ‘ Anno 973,—Rex Pacificus Edgarus—
 ‘ ad Legionum Civitatem appulit, cui *sub-*
 ‘ *reguli* ejus octo, Kynathus, scilicet, Rex
 ‘ Scotorum,

‘ Scotorum, Malcolmus Rex Cumbro-
 ‘ rum, Maccus plurimarum Rex in-
 ‘ fularum, et alii quinque, Dufnallus,
 ‘ Siferthus, Huwallus, Jacobus, Juchil-
 ‘ lus, ut mandârat, occurrerunt; et
 ‘ quod sibi fideles et terrâ et mari coö-
 ‘ peratores esse vellent juraverunt. Cum
 ‘ quibus die quadam scapham ascen-
 ‘ dit, illisque ad remos locatis, ipse cla-
 ‘ vum gubernaculi arripiens, eam per
 ‘ cursum fluminis Deae peritè guber-
 ‘ navit; omnique turbâ ducum et
 ‘ procerum simili navigio comitante, à
 ‘ palatio ad monasterium Sancti Johan-
 ‘ nis Baptistae navigavit *.’

Here

* *Flor. Wigorn.* p. 607. A republican
 would have wished that, upon this sin-
 gular occasion, the royal steersman had
 run his barge aground, loaded as it was,
 with

Here we have *Kynathus, Malcolmus, Maccus*, kings *with* territories : *Dufnallus, Siferthus, Huwallus, Jacobus, Fuchillus*, kings *without* territories. We shall presently see, that, in process of time, the Monkish historians bestowed some sort of kingdom on each of them.

Here the names, Gaspar, Melchior, and Balthasar, are not mentioned ; but *they* belonged to another legend.

Lord Lyttelton observes, ‘ That Florence of Worcester reckons Kenneth among the kings and princes who *swore fealty* to Edgar. The story told
‘ by

with eight *inferior kinglets*. But Edgar was in no hazard : The patron of Monks, he who built or endowed 48 religious houses, *peritè gubernavit*.

‘ by this historian of Kenneth, and seven
 ‘ other princes of the Cambrian Bri-
 ‘ tons or Welsh, having rowed the
 ‘ barge of Edgar on the river Dee, I
 ‘ much doubt of. But his evidence as to
 ‘ the *vassalage* of Kenneth is not liable
 ‘ to the same objections.’

Here, again, his Lordship takes just one half of the story, and rejects the other. He supposes that the historian relates that, in 973, Kenneth king of Scots *swore fealty* to Edgar, and assisted in rowing him over the Dee. ‘ The
 ‘ historian, says his Lordship, is right as
 ‘ to the fealty, but wrong as to the
 ‘ barge’s crew.’

Where is the touchstone by which the veracity of Florence of Worcester is to be tried?

It

It would be much safer to believe the whole story, than only a part of it. The office of rower to the royal steersman implies subjection; whereas, if *that* is once given up as a fable, there will be no evidence of Kenneth's *vassalage* in the narrative of Florence of Worcester.

‘ Quod sibi *fideles* et terra et mari
‘ *coöperatores* esse vellent juraverunt,’
has no resemblance to feudal homage; *fideles coöperatores*, or πιστοὶ συνεργεῖται, can never imply *loyal vassals*. The words respect an obligation to assist Edgar by sea and by land, not to become his vassals.

This is plain from the Saxon chronicle, where the story is told as it stood before it received its Norman embellishments. Bishop Gibson renders the passage

sage

sage thus : ‘ Et statim post haec Rex
 ‘ ducebat omnes suas navales copias ad
 ‘ Laegeceaster, ubi ei obviam venerunt
 ‘ VI. Reges, et omnes, cum eo foedere
 ‘ facto, polliciti sunt, sese coöperarios
 ‘ futuros terrâ marique *.’ It is im-
 possible that this narrative in the Sax-
 on chronicle can imply any thing of
 feudal homage.

The

* *Chron. Sax.* p. 122. An Englishman,
 when he sees this passage printed in charac-
 ters familiar to him, will be able to pick
 out the sense ; a Scotsman, if tolerably
 intelligent, will understand it. “ And sona
 “ aefter tham se kyng geleade ealle his
 “ scip-here to Laegeceastre, and thaer him
 “ comon ongean VI. Kyningas, and ealle
 “ him on hand sealdon with trywfodon that
 “ hi woldon efenwyhton be on sæ and on
 “ lande.” A Scotsman can have no dif-
 ficulty in discovering the sense of *trewis* and
evin-wight.

The only thing on which the hypothesis of *homage*, in the passage from Florence of Worcester, can rest, is the word *sub-regulus*; and if any one is satisfied that Kenneth king of Scotland was a *sub-regulus*, because Florence of Worcester gave him that appellation an hundred years after *, I also am satisfied.

They who rely on the authority of Florence of Worcester would do well to peruse what follows the adventure of the royal barge. It is an account of the fleet of Edgar, consisting of no fewer than *three thousand six hundred stout ships* **.

Florence

* He died about 1119. *Nicolson*. English historical library, p. 56.

** “ 3600 *Robustas* sibi congregaverat
“ *naves.*” Ad an. 975.

Florence did not invent this extravagant tale ; but he was credulous enough to report it from those who did.

To return to the homage and the barge's crew.—In process of time the story increased and prospered.

John of Wallingford mentions not the barge, but he speaks of Kenneth king of Scots, Malcolm king of the Cumbri, Mackus king of many isles, ' *et Orcadum* diversi Reges, qui omnes ' Eadgaro homagii nomine teneban- ' tur *.

Brompton has made an admirable paraphrase of *fideles coöperatores*. He says, ' Qui omnes, debitâ fidelitate fac- ' tâ, ejus ditioni et dominio sunt subjec-
I ' ti,

* *Apud Gale*, vol. 1. p. 545. Of his testimony more hereafter.

‘ ti, promittentes terrâ et mari fide-
 ‘ ter secum fore *.’

In the days of Matthew of West-
 minster, the five kings without territo-
 ries obtained an establishment by the
 bounty of the monastic writers. Duf-
 nal was created king of South-Wales,
 Siferth and Howel kings of Wales,
 James king of Galloway, and Jukel
 king of Westmorland. From all of
 them Edgar received the oath of feal-
 ty †.

It

* *Apud Twisden. t. i. p. 869.*

† “ Eodem anno Rex pacificus Eadge-
 “ rus, ad Urbem Legionum veniens, ab octo
 “ subregulis suis, Kinedo, scilicet, Rege
 “ Scotorum, Malcolmno Cumbriorum, Ma-
 “ cone rege Monae et plurimarum insu-
 “ larum, Dufnal rege Demetiae, Sifertho
 “ et Howel regibus Walliae, Jacobo rege
 “ Galwalliae,

It is singular enough, that the different kings of the *Orcades* should have become kings of *Wales* and *Westmoreland*. This must be admitted, unless we would have the testimonies of Wallingford and Matthew of Westminster to be irreconcilable.

Enough has been said concerning the evidence of Florence of Worcester, and the gradual improvements made on his tale.

I have only to add, that Edward I. himself does not infer the vassalage of Kenneth to Edgar, from any oath of fealty actually made, but merely from the circumstance of the barge on the Dee. ‘ Fer-
‘ tur

“ Galwalliae, et Jukel Westimariae, *jura-*
“ *mentum fidelitatis accepit* ;” p. 192. ad an.
974.—I use *Galloway*, there being no word for *Galwallia*.

‘ tur ipsum dixisse, successores suos
 ‘ gloriari se Reges Anglorum esse, cum
 ‘ tantâ honorum prerogativâ fruuntur,
 ‘ ut subjectam habeant tot regum po-
 ‘ tentiam *.’

Lord Lyttelton also appeals to the testimony of John of Wallingford †. The passage, as his Lordship justly observes, is mutilated.

It will be necessary to transcribe, not only the passage quoted by his Lordship, but also some preceeding passages of the same author.

‘ Con-

* *Rymer*, t. 2. p. 864. [884.]

† His Lordship is of opinion, that this chronicle was written by an abbot who lived under Henry II. Bishop Nicolson is of opinion, that it was written by John of Wallingford, who was a monk at St Alban’s in 1231. *English historical library*, p. 61.

‘ Consensit in Eadgarum pars aqui-
 ‘ lonaris Angliae ab eodem flumine
 ‘ *Thamisa*, videlicet, *Exsexia*, *North-*
 ‘ *folchia*, et tota *Mercia*, cum firis
 ‘ [scyris] suis ; et *Bernia*, et *Deira*, cum
 ‘ *Louthian*, quae antiquitus duos Re-
 ‘ ges habebant, usque ad *Castellum Puel-*
 ‘ *larum*.’ —————

‘ Rex Eadgarus, sub eodem tempore
 ‘ barones Northumbrenses in consilium
 ‘ convocans apud Eboracum, capitula
 ‘ multa ad regni negotia spectantia be-
 ‘ ne ordinavit ; inter quae etiam O-
 ‘ sulfi comitatum, quem avunculus e-
 ‘ jus Eadredus toti Northumbriae sub
 ‘ nomine Comitatus praefecerat, in duos
 ‘ divisit comitatus. Ipso Ofulfo jam
 ‘ mortuo, noluit sub nomine haeredi-
 ‘ tatis Rex eam partem terrae alicui
 ‘ provenire soli, ne, ad antiquam liberta-
 ‘ tem

‘ tem aspirantes *, [*incolae inobedientes*
 ‘ *fierent. Australem igitur partem*] Nor-
 ‘ thimbriae, hoc est, ab Humbria usque
 ‘ ad Theifam [*dedit*] Oslach, et comitis
 ‘ gladio eum cinxit. A Theifa vero, us-
 ‘ que ad Mireforth, sub nomine etiam
 ‘ comitatus, partem, videlicet, mariti-
 ‘ mam Deirae, dedit Eadulf cognomento
 ‘ Ewelthild. Sicque duo regna ad duos
 ‘ comitatus devenerunt, permanferunt-
 ‘ que omni tempore regum Anglorum
 ‘ sub ditione et donatione eorundem.
 ‘ Louthion vero semper patuit excur-
 ‘ sibus Scotorum et Pictorum; et idcirco
 ‘ parum curae fuit regibus haec pars
 ‘ terrae. Porro, Rex Scotorum Ki-
 ‘ neth

* Here is an obvious chasm, which I have
 endeavoured to fill up, by the words within
 crotchets.

' neth audiens ex fama et commenda-
 ' tione duorum comitum Oslach et Ea-
 ' dulf, et Episcopi Dunelmi Elffi, Ead-
 ' gari regis munificentiam, desiderio vi-
 ' dendi petivit conductum veniendi
 ' Londoniam, ut cum eodem colloque-
 ' retur, et impetravit; conduxeruntque
 ' eum, ex praecepto regis, duo comi-
 ' tes praedicti et episcopus. Venit Lon-
 ' donias Kyneth Rex Scotorum, ubi a
 ' Rege Eadgaro honorificè susceptus
 ' est et honori habitus; cumque ami-
 ' cè familiariter et jocundè colloqueren-
 ' tur, fuggeffit Rex Kineth Regi Ead-
 ' garo *Louthion* ad suum jus debere per-
 ' tinere, et haereditariè a regibus Sco-
 ' torum possideri; Rex nolens ali-
 ' quid abruptè facere, ne post factum
 ' poeniteret, Regis Kineth causam cu-
 ' riae suae intimavit; procures vero, qui

‘ a

‘ a progenitoribus erant eruditi, [non]
 ‘ nisi sub nomine homagii regi An-
 ‘ gliae a Rege Scotorum impensi [*Lou-*
 ‘ *thion possideri*] ; et praecipuè, quia ad
 ‘ tuendam terram illam difficilis est ac-
 ‘ cessus, et parum proficua ejus domi-
 ‘ natio [*Here is a chasm which I cannot*
 ‘ *fill up.*] Assensit autem assertioni huic
 ‘ Kineth, et sub nomine homagii eam
 ‘ petiit, et accepit ; fecitque regi Ead-
 ‘ garo homagium, sub cautione multa
 ‘ promittens, quod populo partis illius
 ‘ antiquas consuetudines non negaret,
 ‘ et sub nomine et lingua Anglicana
 ‘ permanerent ; quod usque hodie fir-
 ‘ mum manet. Sicque determinata est
 ‘ vetus querela de Louthion, et adhuc
 ‘ nova saepe intentatur. Subjectus est
 ‘ ergo Eadgaro Rex praedictus praedic-
 ‘ ta de causa *.’

There

* *Chr. J. Wallingford* apud Gale, t. i. p. 543-5.

There are so many chasms in the narrative of John of Wallingford, that nothing more than a conjecture can be formed of his meaning. I think it is as follows :

Among the countries subject, as *of right*, to Edgar, he reckons Bernia and Deira, with Louthion, as far as the *Castrum Puellarum*, generally supposed to be Edinburgh, or rather the castle of Edinburgh *.

The

* It is plain that there could be no place, either in the Saxon or Gaelic territory, which vulgarly went by the Latin name of *Castrum Puellarum*. The words must be a translation of some other name, either Gaelic or Saxon.

Turgot, quoted by Fordun, *Scotichron.* l. 5. c. 26. says, that Queen Margaret, the wife

The historian proceeds to relate, that Edgar divided Northumberland into two earldoms. He made Oslach Earl of the country from the Humber to the Tees. He made Eadulph Earl of the country

wife of Malcolm III. died at the *Castrum Puellarum*, and the description which he gives of it corresponds exactly with that of the castle of Edinburgh.

In the Gaelic language, Edinburgh is uniformly termed *Dunaiden*, which is the same thing as *castrum alatum*, or the *Στεγασμένον ἀλῆγον* of Ptolemy.

Some antiquaries imagine that the Scots termed it the *Maiden Castle*, because the Pictish princesses were kept there; but this is irreconcilable with the idea of the province of Deira extending to Edinburgh. It would have been strange policy indeed, to have kept the princesses upon the very frontier of another kingdom, as in a place of safety.

country from the Tees to *Mireforth*; that is, as the historian explains it, of the maritime parts of Deira.

He adds : ‘ But *Louthion* was always
‘ exposed to the inroads of the Scots
‘ and Picts, and therefore, that part of
‘ the land was little attended to by the
‘ [Anglo-Saxons] kings.’

I presume that this implies, that *Louthion* was understood to be comprehended in the earldom bestowed on Eadulph, although it was not actually possessed by the Anglo-Saxons.

To know the northern boundary of this division of Northumberland, we must know what the historian meant by *Mireforth*.

Mere, in the Anglo-Saxon language, means a marsh or a lake. A Norman, writing from the ear, would naturally enough spell the word thus, *Mire*.

This

This remark is necessary, because an English reader would suppose *mire* in *Mireforth* to be pronounced as the word *mire* in modern English.

The word *mere* or *mire* may be applied to such a body of water, as that arm of the sea which washes the south coast of Fife. Thus Lye, in *Dict. Sax.* says, *mere*, mare; *Mere deatha maest*, mare mortibus nobilitatum. *Mireforth* therefore may signify the *Frith of Forth*; and thus, according to Wallingford, the dominions of Edgar reached to the *Frith of Forth*.

The same historian says, that Northumberland was bounded by the *Castrum Puellarum*. If by *Castrum Puellarum* is meant Edinburgh, it necessarily follows, that, in the opinion of John of Wallingford, the *Lou-*
thion,

thion, subject to the kingdom of Northumberland, was not what is now, and has for many ages been, termed *Lothian*. All the county of Linlithgow, and a considerable part of the county of Edinburgh, must be deducted from ancient *Louthion*.

To speak of Lothian as comprehending the *south-east parts of Scotland*, is to speak without precision.

The English historians distinguished *Teviotdale* from *Lothian*, although *Teviotdale* may with more propriety be reckoned in *the south-east parts of Scotland*, than the county of Edinburgh.

The old historians, who have described the battle of the standard, [*bellum standardii*], are accurate in distinguishing *Teviotdale* from *Lothian*.

Thus

Thus Elthelred says, ‘ Alteram a-
 ‘ ciem filius Regis et milites sagittarii-
 ‘ que cum eo, adjunctis sibi Cumbren-
 ‘ sibus et *Tevidalensibus*, cum magna sa-
 ‘ gacitate constituit—tertium cuneum
 ‘ *Laodonenses*—fecerunt †.’

And Richard Prior of Hexham says,
 ‘ Coadunatus erat infandus exercitus—
 ‘ de Northymbranis et Cumbris de *Tes-*
 ‘ *wetadala* et *Lodonea* ‡.’

If it be once admitted that the En-
 glish historians distinguish *Teviotdale*
 from *Lothian*, and if it be supposed that
 Edinburgh was the boundary of the
 Northum-

† *Ethelredus Abbas Rievallis*, apud Twisden.
 vol. i. p. 342. 343.

‡ *Ric. Hagulst*, apud Twisden. v. i. p. 315.
 The French pronounce *Teswet* as *Téwet*.
 Hence a Norman would write *Teswetdale* for
Téwetdale.

Northumbrian territories, I presume that there will not need any argument to prove that *Tweedale* and *Selkirk-shire* were no part of *Lothian* in the English sense of the word.

Hence it follows that *Lothian*, in the English sense of the word, could comprehend nothing of modern Scotland but the Merse, East-Lothian, and that part of Mid-Lothian which lies to the east of Edinburgh.

Neither will it escape the intelligent reader, that, although the Merse and East-Lothian might pass under that appellation, yet that only a small part even of that territory could be considered as feudally dependant on England. Great part of those territories was *the patrimony of Saint Cuthbert*.

It

It will be observed, that, in my commentary, I give the utmost latitude to the expressions of John of Wallingford, and that I grant *Castrum Puellarum* to signify *Edinburgh*, and *Mireforth* to signify the *Frith of Forth*.

Further, by supposing *Castrum Puellarum* in Wallingford to mean *Edinburgh*, I explain *Mireforth* in an extensive, and even improper sense. If *Castrum Puellarum* did not mean *Edinburgh*, I would explain “*ad Mireforth*” in its obvious sense, that is, ‘all the way to the Frith of Forth,’ or, ‘to where that branch of the sea comes to be distinguished from the German ocean, by the appearance of an opposite foreland.’

Hence, at this day, St Abb’s-head is held to be the southern limit of the Frith of Forth.

Were

Were *Mireforth* to be understood in this sense, which is surely the most obvious one, then *Lothian*, in the English sense of the word, signifies the campaign country on the east marches.

The name of *Lothian*, or *Lothene*, if I mistake not, has been appropriated sometimes to one country, sometimes to another.

Thus, in the continuation of the Saxon chronicle, an. 1125, among the prelates who accompanied John of Crema to Rome, mention is made of ‘J. Biscop of *Lothene*.’ No one can suppose that the bishop of Lothian in Scotland is here intended : There was no such bishop in that age.

If it should be suggested that the bishop of St Andrew’s is here meant,
I answer,

L

I answer, That, in 1125, there was properly no bishop of St Andrew's. Robert of Pontefract, bishop elect in 1122, was not consecrated before 1126*; besides, the initial letter of this man's christian name was J. not R.

There is some reason to believe that the bishop of Carlyle or Cumberland is the person of whom the chronicle speaks †.

Again, the Saxon chronicle, an. 1091, says of Malcolm III. king of Scotland : ‘ Kyng Malcolm—for mid
‘ his fyrde ut of Scotlande *into Lothene*
‘ *on*

* Keith, Catalogue of Scottish bishops, p. 6. 7.

† See Goodall's *introductio ad Fordun*, p. 47.

‘ *on England*, and thær abad ;’ *i. e.*
 ‘ King Malcolm departed with his army
 ‘ out of Scotland, into Lothene in Eng-
 ‘ land, and there remained.’

Florence of Worcester, speaking of
 this expedition, says : ‘ Cui Rex Mal-
 ‘ colmus cum exercitu *in provincia Loi-*
 ‘ *dis* occurrit.’ And the same thing is
 delivered, in the same words, by Si-
 meon of Durham *.

By what rule of interpretation can
 this imply *Lothian* in Scotland ?

Our Scottish antiquaries incline to
 interpret *Loidis* by *Leeds* in York-
 shire. This hypothesis would solve
 many difficulties ; it is maintained
 by authors of great merit and repu-
 tation ; yet I confess that I do not
 think

* *Flor. Vigorn.* p. 644. ad. an. 1091. *Sim.*
Dunelm. apud Twifden. v. 1. p. 216.

think it so much as plausible : It is, however, as good as that of Thoresby, who pronounces that *Loidis provincia*, and *Lothene in England*, mean *Lothian in Scotland*, with no less confidence than if he had served in the army of Malcolm III.*.

I now return to the testimony of Wallingford.

Wallingford proceeds to observe, that Kenneth King of Scotland pretended that Louthion belonged in absolute property to him.

That he was in the full possession of it, is obvious from what Wallingford says of the Anglo-Saxon kings having bestowed little attention on Louthion, and

* *Ducat. Leod. Pr. p. viii.*

and from what he adds concerning the report made to Edgar by his barons :
 ‘ *A progenitoribus erant eruditi ;*’ *i. e.*
 ‘ They had learned from their forefathers.’ This precisely expresses the idea of a claim, founded on an ancient and traditionary, not on recent possession.

I doubt not that the tradition to which the Northumbrian barons are said to have appealed, was partly founded in truth, and that at some former period the Saxons were in possession of some part of that country which now passes under the general name of Scotland * ; but that Edgar revived,
 or

* This is well explained by Mr Hume, History of England, vol. 2. p. 75. note.

or that Kenneth acknowledged the antiquated claim, are propositions which require more convincing evidence than the mere assertion of an author who lived after the reign of Henry II.

The evidence of John of Wallingford is inconsistent in another view also : He intimates that the Northumbrian barons reported, not only that *homage* was due to Edgar for Louthion, but also, that such homage had been due in ancient times. This is to carry back the ideas of feudatory dependence into remote and uncertain ages. Indeed it is to speak Norman language rather than Anglo-Saxon.

The concluding words of the historian are remarkable : ‘ Sicque de-
terminata

‘terminata est vetus querela de Lou-
 ‘thion, et adhuc nova saepe intenta-
 ‘tur.’

How are we to reconcile this with
 the preceding words, ‘*Quod usque*
 ‘*hodie firmum manet?*’

It appears to me that the historian
 meant to dress up an ancient and un-
 certain tradition in a specious form,
 with the view of justifying the more
 recent pretensions of the English
 kings.

What confirms me in this belief
 is, that neither the Saxon chronicle,
 nor Florence of Worcester, when
 rightly understood, make any men-
 tion of homage done by Kenneth to
 Edgar.

I am not able to throw more lights
 upon this obscure question, of ‘the
 ‘homage

‘homage done for Lothian.’ Well may I style that circumstance in British history *obscure*, which Lord Lyttelton has unsuccessfully attempted to illustrate.

CHAP.

CHAP. III.

OF THOMAS LERMONTH,
called *the Rhymers*.

THE prophecies yet extant in
Scottish rhymes of Thomas
Lermonth, whereupon he was com-
monly called *Thomas the rhymer*, may
justly be admired, having foretold, so
many ages before, the union of the
kingdoms of England and Scotland
in the ninth degree of the Bruce's
blood, with the succession of Bruce
himself to the crown, being yet a
child; and other divers particulars
which the event hath ratified and
made

‘ made good.—Whence, or how he
 ‘ had this knowledge, can hardly be af-
 ‘ firmed ; but sure it is, that he did di-
 ‘ vine and answer of many things to
 ‘ come ;’ *Spotiswood*, History of the
 church of Scotland, p. 47.

The prophecy of *Thomas the Rhymer*
 is to be found, among other things of
 the same sort, in a collection printed by
 Andro Hart, 1615.

The celebrated passage relating to
 the union of the two crowns runs thus :

“ Or who shall rule the isle of Britain
 “ From the north to the south sea?
 “ A French Queen shall bear the son
 “ Shall rule all Britain to the sea,
 “ Which of the Bruce’s blood shall come
 “ As near as the ninth degree.”

It is amazing that Archbishop Spot-
 tiswood, a man of sense, and a scholar,
 should

should have imagined that this pretended prophecy was ancient, or that it did so much as bear the name of *Thomas the Rhymer*.

The author, whoever he was, begins his poem thus :

“ Still on my ways as I went
 “ Out through a land beside a lee
 “ I met a bairn upon the way,
 “ Methought him seemly for to see;
 “ I askt him wholly his intent,
 “ Good Sir, if your will be,
 “ Sen that ye bide upon the bent
 “ Some uncouth tidings tell you me.”

Certain allegorical pageants pass before the eyes of the author : He enquires their interpretation at this stranger : The stranger interprets the visions, and speaks of things to come.

The

The author thus concludes his poem :

“ When all these ferlies were away,

“ Then saw I none but I and he;

“ Then to the bairn could * I say

“ Where dwells thou, or in what country?

“ Or who shall rule,” &c. [as above.]

“ I frained † fast what was his name?

“ Where that he came? from what country?

“ At Erslingtoun I dwell at hame,

“ *Thomas the Rymer* men call me.”

The author, it will be observed, does not assume the character of *Thomas the Rhymer*; but, on the contrary, repeats what *Thomas the Rhymer* is supposed to have shewn him.

Inattentive

* Rather 'goud, a contraction of *begoud*, still used for *began*.

† “ *Frained*” frane, vraeghen, interrogare.

Inattentive readers, disjoining the two last lines from the context, have concluded that the poet *there* mentions his own name, instead of the name of his supposed *familiar*.

It is strange that Spotiswood should not have perceived that the language of the prophecy is not of the thirteenth century, but rather approaching to that of his own times.

By *language* I do not mean the manner of spelling, nor yet every single word; for I know that changes in spelling, and in words, have been frequently made in ancient writings, by capricious or opinionative transcribers: But, by *language*, I mean the turn of expression and cadence of the numbers: And I am persuaded, that no competent judge of such matters will assert
that

that the language, in this sense of the word, is of the age of Alexander III.

Spotiswood hesitates to pronounce, 'when or how Thomas Lermont had his knowledge.' Had he carefully examined the prophecy, he would have seen that the author speaks of 'the Queen of heaven so bright.' So good a protestant as Spotiswood could not imagine that he who used such an expression, 'brought with him airs from heaven.'

It is a circumstance well meriting observation, that the prophecy concerning the union of the two crowns, 'in the ninth degree of the Bruce's blood,' is a palpable interpolation.

As the prophecy now stands, the questions put by the author to the prophet are these : 'In what country do
'you

‘you dwell? Or, who shall be the first king of Britain?’ The prophet answers: ‘One as near as the ninth in degree from the Bruce’s blood shall be the first king of Britain.’ The author says, ‘I immediately asked from what country do you come? The prophet answers, ‘I live at Erslingtoun, and am called *Thomas the Rhymer*.’

Every one must perceive, that *here* two unconnected questions are put at once, and that one of the questions is unnecessarily repeated.

I am persuaded that, originally, the passage run thus :

- “ When all these ferlies were away,
- “ Then saw I none but I and he,
- “ I frained fast what was his name?
- “ Where that he came? From what country?
- “ At Erslingtoun I dwell at hame,
- “ *Thomas the Rhymer* men call me.”

And

And that the eight intermediate lines are an interpolation.

This prophecy was originally intended for the Duke of Albany, regent of Scotland during the minority of James V.

Alexander Duke of Albany, the brother of James III. was obliged, for his disloyal practices, to leave Scotland, and retire into France.

He married the daughter of the Earl of Boulogne. By her he had a son, John Duke of Albany, born and educated in France.

In the collection published by Andro Hart, 1615, there is a mysterious rhapsody, called *the prophecy of Berlington*.

It contains the following passages, which I shall transcribe, and then explain

plain and draw my inferences from them.

“ Of Bruce’s left side shall spring out a leafe

“ As near as the ninth degree,

“ And shall be fleemed of fair Scotland

“ In France far beyond the sea :

“ And then shall come again riding

“ With eyes that many men may see.

“ At Aberlady, he shall light

“ With hempen helters and horse of tree.”—

“ However it happen for to fall,

“ The Lion shall be Lord of all,

“ The French wife shall bear the son

“ Shall weild all Britain to the sea,

“ And from the Bruces blood shall come

“ As near as the ninth degree.”—

“ Yet shall there come a keen knight over

“ the salt sea,

“ A keen man of courage, and bold man of

“ armes,

“ A

N

“ A Duke’s son doubled, a born man in
 “ France,
 “ That shall our mirths amend, and mend
 “ all our harmes,
 “ After the date of our Lord 1513 and
 “ thrice three thereafter,
 “ Which shall brook all the broad isle to
 “ himself,
 “ Between 13 and thrice three the threep
 shall be ended,
 “ The Saxons shall never recover after.”

I conjecture that this poem was composed after the death of James IV. and before the arrival of the Duke of Albany in Scotland, *i. e.* between September 1513, and June 1515.

At that period Scotland was reduced very low. James IV. and the flower of the nobility, had fallen at Floudden, his son an infant, faction ; distrust, and despondency, every where.

This

This was a fit season for a politic impostor to revive the hopes of a superstitious people.

The person assuming the name of Berlington boldly prophesied an *immediate* change of fortune, from the most humiliating disasters, to unparalleled prosperity*.

I now proceed to the interpretation of this supposed prophecy.

“ Of Bruce’s *left side*.”

Of a daughter of Bruce.—In genealogical tables the female descendents are placed to the left.

‘ Shall

* Mr David Home observes, ‘ that the
‘ disciples of Machiavel hold a lye to be
‘ useful in politics, although it should live
‘ but half an hour.’ *Du contr’ assassin*, par
David Home ministre a Gergeau ; p. 329.

“ Shall spring out a leaf.”

Not the principal branch, but a collateral descendent.

“ *As near as the ninth degree.*”

Particular attention must be given to this line, because it was afterwards perverted from its original and obvious meaning.

Berlington does not say that the great conqueror, of whom he speaks, should be *in* the ninth degree from the blood of Bruce, but that he should be ‘*as near as the ninth degree.*’ *i. e.* That he should, in the vulgar phrase, be *able to count kin* with Bruce. At the tenth generation, it is commonly held that relationship ceases.

John Duke of Albany was not in the ninth degree from the blood of Bruce. His pedigree stands thus :

Marjory

Marjory Bruce—Stewart of Scotland.

1. Robert II.
2. Robert III.
3. James I.
4. James II.
5. Alexander Duke of Albany.
6. *John* Duke of Albany.

The time fixed by the prophecy for its hero becoming possessed of Britain, is in nine years from 1513. Now it is obviously impossible, in the nature of things, that this person could be of the ninth degree from the blood of Bruce. The Duke of Albany was of the *sixth* degree, and James V. of no more than the seventh, and *he* too an infant, incapable of having children in 1522, the last term of the prophecy.

To have prophesied that this great event was to be fulfilled in 1522, by a
person

person *in the ninth degree from the blood of Bruce*, would have been to prophecy, what every reader knew to be an impossibility and a contradiction.

We shall hereafter observe how ingeniously the words of the prediction were perverted, so as to make them applicable to an event quite different.

“ And shall be *fleemed* of fair Scotland.”

Shall be exiled or estranged from Scotland.

“ At Aberlady he shall light,

“ With hempen helters and horse of tree.”

An affected allegorical phrase, implying,

“ That he shall come to Scotland by

“ sea.” The prophet mistook the port at which the Duke of Albany was to land. He naturally supposed that the Duke would make some port in the

Frith

Frith of Forth; and, therefore, he foretells that he should land at Aberlady, a known port in the Frith, and a place of strength in those days. It happened, however, that the Duke, to avoid the English, landed at Dunbarton *.

‘ With *eyes*’ probably means the port-holes of a ship of war.

“ The *Lion* shall be Lord of all.”
Scotland, whose arms is the Lion, shall obtain the mastery.

“ The *French wife* shall bear the son.”

The French-woman, daughter of the Earl of Bouloigne, and mother of John Duke of Albany regent.

“ A Duke’s son doubled.”

Unless ‘ doubled’ be a pleonasm expressing the same thing as ‘ Duke’s son,’ I must suppose that it is an error of
some

* *Lesley de rebus gestis Scotorum*, p. 375.

some transcriber, for *dubbed*, or ‘*solemnly made a knight.*’ Perhaps it should be ‘*undoubted,*’ or ‘*doubtless.*’

“ That shall our mirths amend, and mend
“ all our harmes.”

Who shall increase our joy, and redress
all our grievances.

“ Between thirteen and thrice three the
“ threep shall be ended.”

Before 1322, when the infant king shall have compleated his 10th year, the victorious regent shall subdue the English, [Saxons,] and then the contest [threep] between the two nations shall cease.

Thus Berlington prophesied of things which came not to pass.—Had he lived in our age, instead of uttering a prophecy, he would have written a pamphlet or a ballad.—Different ages require different tools.

As

As the prophecy of Berlington had not been fulfilled in the Duke of Albany, the next age resolved to new-model it, and to point out its probable completion in Queen Mary.

‘ A French *wife*’ was easily turned into ‘ a French *Queen* ;’ and what was intended for the mother of the Duke of Albany, was accommodated to Queen Mary.

“ Which of the Bruce’s blood shall come,

“ *As near as the ninth degree,*”

was turned into a prophecy of what should happen *in* the ninth degree from the Bruces, and in no intermediate degree ; and the prophecy, new vamped, was published in the name of one who had heard it from the mouth of the renowned soothsayer *Thomas the Rhymer*.

O

Alexander

Alexander Scot wrote a poem, intit-
tled *Ane Newe Yere Gift to the Quene,*
quhen scho come first hame.

The xxv stanza of his poem runs
thus :

“ Giffe sawis be suth to schaw thy celsitude,

“ Quhat berne suld bruke all *Bretane* be the

“ *fé?*

“ The prophecie expresse dois conclude,

“ The *French wife* of the *Bruces* blude suld be.

“ Thow art be lyne fra him *the nynte degree*

“ And wes King Frances party maik and peir,

“ So be discente, the same sould spring of thé

“ By grace of God agane this gude new-yeir.”

It is plain that Scot never heard of
‘*the French Queen*’ in the prophecy,
and that he alludes to ‘*the French wife*’
of Berlington, which, as I have already
proved, is to be understood of the Duke
of Albany’s mother.

Scot

Scot supposes that the person who was to rule Britain, was to be the son of a woman descended from Robert Bruce in the ninth degree ; and therefore he institutes his calculation thus :
 1. Marjory Bruce. 2. Robert II. &c.
 whereby Mary becomes the *ninth*.

This, however, is inconsistent with Spotiswood's calculation, who begins with Robert II. and reckons down to James VI.

But it matters not which of them has best interpreted the popular sense of the prophecy. It did not originally relate either to Mary or to her son, but was merely a political artifice, to prepossess the vulgar with an extravagant idea of the glories of the Duke of Albany's administration.

It

It is not wonderful that the prophecy should have been revived and applied to Mary in 1562. At that period, Elisabeth Queen of England was thirty, Mary the next heir, twenty, and surely the most *likely* woman of the two.

Besides, foreigners were apt to consider the title of Queen Elisabeth as principally depending on possession: And Roman Catholics were apt to consider her as an usurper.

In such circumstances, it was not very presumptuous to assert, that the progeny of Mary had a fairer chance of reigning in England than the progeny of Elisabeth. It was no more than prophecying on the side of the *odds*.

I do not intend to enter into any further examination of what is vulgarly termed ‘ The prophecy of *Thomas the Rhymer*.’

‘*Rhymer.*’ I believe that it is partly an unmeaning assemblage of the names of the Scottish nobility, partly a relation of past events.—When the author says,

“ Our bloody King that wears the crown

“ Full boldly shall the battle bide,

“ His banner shall be beaten down

“ And hath none hole his head to hide.

“ *The sterns three* that day shall die

“ *That bears the hart in silver sheene,*” &c.

I suppose that most of my readers will be satisfied that the author lived after the battle of Floudden, where the heir apparent of the Earl of Angus died with his sovereign.

Perhaps it may be thought that I have bestowed unnecessary pains in discrediting this popular prediction ascribed to *Thomas the Rhymer*.

Let

Let it, however, be considered, that the name of Thomas the Rhymer is not forgotten in Scotland, nor his authority altogether flighted, even at this day.

Within the memory of man, his prophecies, and the prophecies of other Scottish soothfayers, have not only been reprinted, but have been consulted with a weak, if not criminal curiosity. I mention not particulars; for I hold it ungenerous to reproach men with weaknesses of which they themselves are ashamed.

The same superstitious credulity might again spring up. I flatter myself that my attempts to eradicate it will not prove altogether vain.

Be this as it will, in endeavouring to expose forgeries, I endeavour to maintain the cause of truth.

C H A P.

C H A P. IV.

The Death of T H O M A S R A N-
D O L P H Earl of M O R A Y.

O U R historians pretend that Thomas Randolph * Earl of Moray was poisoned by a vagrant monk from England. This, like many others of the same nature, seems a silly popular tale. Boece relates the story at great length †; and, at the same time, has furnished

* In compliance with vulgar prejudices, I call him *Thomas Randolph*, yet he ought rather to be called *Thomas Randalson*, or *Raphson*, and his son *Thomas Thompson*, Earl of Moray. In propriety of language neither of them had any surname.

† Lib. xv. fol. 310. 311.

furnished circumstances sufficient for its confutation. He says, ‘ That the monk
 ‘ pretended to be possessed of a specific
 ‘ for the stone, with which disease Ran-
 ‘ dolph was grievously afflicted *.”
 That the poison administered was of that nature, as to work not instantaneously, but by slow degrees ; that the first symptom perceived was colic pains, [tormina quaedam ventris], and that, when the disease became more violent, the physicians pronounced that Randolph was poisoned.

Randolph,

* *In calculum praesentissima habere remedia, nam eo morbo Ranulphus admodum vexabatur.* Bellenden translates *calculus* by *gravel* : But that is a mistake ; for Boece presently adds, *Tandem tempus esse dicens, cum, veluti maturo jam calculo, sumendum aliquid censeret quo totum conficeret.*

Randolph, in the decline of life, worn out with long fatigues, afflicted with a confirmed stone, was seized with colic pains, became gradually worse, and at length died. I ask, Whether is it most reasonable to suppose that his death was natural or violent? Boece was himself a physician of practice and reputation: Had he considered the case with impartiality, he would have pronounced, that Randolph died of *the stone*, rather than of *the doctor*: But he found a popular story ready made, and it was his practice, rather to embellish such materials, than to discard them.

He mentions, indeed, one circumstance, which he seems to consider as a conclusive proof of poison, that the monk, after having administered his medicines, departed, under promise to

P

return,

return, but returned not ; as if it were extraordinary that a vagrant empiric should not enquire concerning the success of his hazardous prescriptions.

The physicians laid the blame on the monk, and thus discharged themselves. Had Randolph used no foreign aid, I doubt not that his physicians would have laid the blame on the devil ; that some old woman would have been tortured into a confession of her having bewitched the regent ; and that the *sorcery* would have found as easy a channel of belief as the *poison*.

Our historians are confident that all this was executed with the knowledge and approbation of Edward III. They affirm that the monk returned to Edward with the glad tidings of the slow poison which had been administered to the regent of Scotland.

It

It is plain that of this circumstance there can be no evidence ; and, indeed, it seems strange to charge Edward as an accessory, because an itinerant English quack poisoned Randolph. Must the King of England be answerable for all the murders committed by English quacks, even in foreign parts ?

CHAP.

C H A P. V.

D A V I D II. proposes L I O N E L the
Son of E D W A R D III. for his
Successor.

‘ I N 1363, David II. assembled a
‘ parliament at Scone, where he
‘ proposed to the three estates, that, af-
‘ ter his death, they should chuse for
‘ king one of the sons of Edward III.
‘ king of England, and especially Li-
‘ onel *.’

This

* *Fordun*, L. xiv. c. 25. The first draught
of the treaty with Edward III. is in *Barnes*,
p. 426. 427.

This is one of the most singular incidents in the history of Scotland. Fordun conjectures that David made this proposal to his parliament, in consequence of some promise extorted from him during his captivity.

The proposal was not made till about six years after David had obtained his liberty.

It is probable enough that David II. a shallow Prince, had conceived a jealousy of Robert Stewart, as one who was more respected, and who, in truth, had reigned longer in Scotland than himself.

Neither is it improbable that David may have projected a settlement of the royal succession on John Sutherland his nephew, by his only sister of full blood, the Countess of Sutherland.

I know

I know that many of our historians, and particularly Boece and Buchanan, have supposed that this settlement was actually established by act of parliament : But of this supposition I never could discover any evidence.

Yet I must observe, that the capital objection generally urged against the hypothesis of Boece and Buchanan is of no force, viz. ‘ That such a settlement
‘ would have been contrary to the two
‘ parliamentary entails in the reign of
‘ Robert I.’ For, not to insist on the argument, that the same power which made, could have varied the entail, it is plain that those entails introduced no limitations with respect to the succession in the event of Robert I. having issue male. This event happened ; he had issue, David II. Now, *Who* was the
heir

heir of David II. in the event of *his* dying without issue, the heir of Marjory his sister consanguinean, or the heir of Margaret Countess of Sutherland, his sister of full blood? If the former, then *Robert Stewart* was preferable; if the latter, *John Sutherland*.

To this, another pretext might have been added. Marjory was the daughter of Bruce, a private man; Margaret, of Bruce, King of Scotland.

If David II. ever formed such a plan, it was totally overthrown by the death of his nephew John Sutherland in 1361*.

That he may have formed some plan of this nature, in order to disappoint

Robert

* *Fordun*, L. xiv. c. 25. calls him, 'Unicus filius Comitiss Sutherlandiae.'

Robert Stewart, is not improbable, when his extraordinary negotiation with England, and his wild proposal of settling the crown on a son of Edward III. are considered.

The parliament of Scotland received the proposal with merited contempt and execration. It was rejected, says Fordun, in his scholastic jargon, ‘ Per
 ‘ universaliter singulos et singulariter
 ‘ universos de tribus statibus ;’ generally by each man, and particularly by all.

CHAP.

C H A P. VI.

OF ARCHIBALD III. Earl of
Douglas.

OUR genealogical writers unanimously assert, that William first Earl of Douglas had three sons, by three different wives. 1. James II. Earl of Douglas, slain at Otterburn in 1388. 2. Archibald, Lord of Galloway, and, by the death of *his brother James*, third Earl of Douglas. 3. George, who became Earl of Angus in right of his mother.

It may seem paradoxical to say, in opposition to such concurring testimony, that Archibald III. Earl of Douglas was

Q

not

not the brother of James II. Earl of Douglas, and that he did not succeed to the earldom in right of blood.

Froissart the French historian, in his chronicle, gives a detail of the battle of Otterburn, [1388,] and then adds :
 ‘ In the early part of my life, I, the writer of this history, made an expedition through Scotland, and remained a full fortnight at the seat of William Earl of Douglas, father of this Earl James, of whom I now speak. It was a castle five miles from Edinburgh, called in that country, Dalkeith, *there* I saw this Earl James a boy, a pretty young gentleman, and a sister of his *.’

Froissart

* “ Des ma jeunesse, je, acteur de ceste histoire, chevauchay tout par tout le royaume
 “ d’Efcocce :

Froissart afterwards says, ‘ I know not
 ‘ to whom the estate of Douglas has
 ‘ gone ; for, when I, the writer of this
 ‘ history, was in Scotland, during the
 ‘ life of Earl William, at his castle of Dal-
 ‘ keith, there were but two children, a
 ‘ son and a daughter.—It is to be re-
 ‘ marked, that *Archibald Douglas*, whom
 ‘ I have often mentioned as a valiant
 ‘ knight,

“ d’Escocce : Et fu bien quinze jours en
 “ l’hostel du Comte Guillaume de Douglas,
 “ pere de ce Comte James, dont je parle
 “ presentment, en un chastel a cinq lieues
 “ de *Haindebourgh*, {qu’ on dit au pais
 “ *Alquest*), et ce Comte James je l’avoie
 “ veu jeune fils, et bel damoisel et une sienne
 “ foeur.” *Volume III. c. 125. p. 334. edit.*
de Lyon. 1559. Froissart’s words do not
 determine the age of Earl James. I think
 I have rendered his words as exactly as the
 idiom of the two languages will admit.

‘ knight, and much dreaded by the
 ‘ English, *was a bastard**.’

He speaks of this Archibald Douglas, in 1384, as *constable of Scotland*, by which he means a principal leader of the Scottish army. He terms him the *cousin* of the Earl of Douglas; and, which is remarkable, he says, that, when Archibald

* “ Je ne say à qui la terre de Douglas
 “ est retournée; car quand je, acteur de ceste
 “ histoire, fu en Escoce, et en son chastel
 “ d’Alquest, vivant le Comte Guillaume, ils
 “ n’estoient que deux enfans, fils et fille.—
 “ Si devez favoir et entendre, que *Messire*
 “ *Archambaud de Douglas*, dont j’ay traitté
 “ icy-dessus en plusieurs lieux, de vaillant
 “ Chevalier, et qui fut moult redouté des
 “ Anglois, *estoit bastard.*” Vol. iii. c. 129.
 p. 342.

chibald was constable, the Earl of Douglas knighted his own son Lord James†.

While James Douglas made his first essays in arms, Archibald was an experienced and renowned warrior. For Froissart adds, “ Archibald Douglas,
 “ a worthy knight, and much dreaded
 “ by his enemies——dismounted, and
 “ held up before him a long sword ; its
 “ blade was of two ells ; scarcely could
 “ another man raise it from the ground,
 “ yet *he* wielded it with ease. He dealt
 “ such

† “ Et dit *le connestable d' Escoce* Messire Archambaud Douglas ;” *Vol. ii. c. 8. p. 13.*
 “ Si disoient ainsi Messieurs Archambaud
 “ de Douglas et le Comte de Douglas son
 “ *cousin* ;” *Vol. ii. c. 9. p. 16.* “ Adoncque fit
 “ le Comte de Douglas son fils Chevalier,
 “ nomme Messire James: Et lui fit lever
 “ Banniere ;” *Vol. ii. c. 10. p. 17.*

“ such heavy blows with it, that, where-
 “ ver he reached, he overthrew. Be-
 “ fore him the hardiest of the English
 “ army shrunk *.”

Thus it appears that Froissart was well acquainted with the family of Douglas; that he had been the guest of Earl William; knew and esteemed Archibald

* “ Messire Archambaud de Douglas,
 “ qui estoit bon Chevalier, et fort craint
 “ de ses ennemys—mit pié à terre et mit
 “ audevant de son visage une longue espée,
 “ qui avoit d’alumelle deux aunes, et à
 “ peine la pouvoit un autre lever de terre;
 “ mais elle ne lui coustoit rien à manier. Et
 “ en donnoit les coups si grans, que tout
 “ ce qu’il acconsuyvoit, il mettoit par
 “ terre: Et ny avoit si hardy de la partie
 “ des Anglois, qui ne refusast ses coups;”
Vol. ii. c. 10. p. 17.

bald Douglas; and had seen Earl James in his early years.

The testimony of one so well informed, is a strong argument to prove that the Archibald Douglas whom he mentions, was not the younger brother of James II. Earl of Douglas, slain at Otterburn in 1388.

But it will be demanded, ‘ What evidence is there, that the Archibald Douglas, whom Froissart mentions, was the person who succeeded to Earl James, and became third Earl of Douglas?’

Here the testimony of Froissart fails us: He acknowledges that he knew not on whom the estate of Douglas devolved at the demise of James the second Earl.

What Froissart cannot, Bowmaker, the continuator of Fordun, will supply.

He

He makes frequent mention of Archibald Douglas, afterwards Earl of Douglas.

That his testimony may have its full weight, I judge it necessary to collect some of the most remarkable passages in his history, which treat of this eminent person.

‘ In 1356, Archibald Douglas was
 ‘ made a prisoner at the battle of Poitiers. He was the son of the noble
 ‘ Lord James, who conveyed the heart
 ‘ of our renowned Robert Bruce to the
 ‘ Holy Land, and who was slain by the
 ‘ Pagans. This Archibald afterwards
 ‘ became Lord of Galloway, and Earl
 ‘ of Douglas *.’

‘ In

* “ Captus etiam ibidem fuit Archibaldus de Douglas, filius nobilissimi domini
 “ Jacobi,

‘ In 1384, John de Vienne, admiral
 ‘ of France, joined his forces to those
 ‘ of Archibald Douglas, Lord of Gal-
 ‘ loway, and Warden of the West
 ‘ Marches, and made a formidable in-
 ‘ road into England †.

‘ In 1388, James Earl of Douglas
 ‘ was slain. Archibald Douglas Lord
 ‘ of

“ Jacobi, qui cum corde inclitissimi Re-
 “ gis Roberti Bruce a Paganis extinctus
 “ est ; qui postea fuit dominus Galweiae
 “ et Comes de Douglas ;” *Fordun*, l. xiv.
 c. 16. The publisher of the last edition of *For-*
dun observes, that the *MS. Cupr.* adds,
 “ Hic Archibaldus dicebatur *Grym.*”

† “ Ammiraldus cum suis Francis Ar-
 “ chibaldum de Douglas, Dominum Gal-
 “ widaie et Gardianum West-Marchiae,
 “ adiit,

‘ of Galloway succeeded him in the
 ‘ Earldom of Douglas *.’

‘ In 1400, died the Lord Archibald,
 ‘ first of that name, Earl of Douglas,
 ‘ surnamed the *Grim*, who surpassed all
 ‘ the Scotsmen of his age in civil wis-
 ‘ dom, prowess, and hardy enterprise,
 ‘ in the extent of his acquisitions, and
 ‘ in wealth. Most upright was he in
 ‘ judgment, yet severe. Faithful to
 ‘ his promise; he had always a nume-
 ‘ rous retinue of valiant men. He
 ‘ shewed

“ adiit, et cum eodem Angliam hostiliter
 “ cum magna potentia intraverunt;” *Lib.*
 xiv. c. 49.

* “ Cui successit Archibaldus Douglas
 “ Dominus Galwidiae ad comitatum de
 “ Douglas;” *Lib.* xiv. c. 53.

‘ shewed high reverence to the ecclesiastical order †.’

This character has all the appearance of being drawn from the life. Bowmaker was born in 1385 *, therefore was fifteen years of age at the death of Archibald Earl of Douglas in 1400; and as he was born at Haddington, within a

† “ Obiit Dominus Archibaldus primus
 “ hoc nomine Comes de Douglas, dictus
 “ *Grym*, sive terribilis, qui in terrena prudentia, fortitudine, et audacia, conquista, et
 “ divitiis, caeteros suo tempore quasi antecessit. Æquissimus etiam erat in judiciis,
 “ sed et rigorosus: Firmus etiam in promissis, et ubique maximâ comitivâ militum
 “ et virorum fortium suffultus: Ministros
 “ ecclesiae in maxima veneratione habebat;”

Lib. xv. c. 11.

* *Fordun, L. xiv. c. 50.*

a few miles of the principal residence of the Douglas family, it is more than probable that he had seen Archibald *the Grim*.

Bowmaker frequently copies the metrical chronicle of Andrew Winton. The character, however, of the Earl of Douglas is not copied from Andrew Winton.

It is agreed, on all hands, that, to this Archibald third Earl of Douglas, David II. made a grant of the crown-lands in Galloway, in 1369.

The grant is extant: It is made
 ‘ Archibaldo de Douglas *militi, pro suo*
 ‘ *diligenti labore et grato servitio nobis*
 ‘ *efficaciter et affectuosè impensis* *.’

Such

* B. I. No. 233. David II. 18th Septemb. an. reg. 40. The famous charter by
 Thomas

Such a grant, with such a preamble, affords convincing evidence that the grantee was of age. My hypothesis is, that he was considerably more advanced in life ; but at present I shall only take for granted what is proved, that he was twenty-one in 1369.

He could not, therefore, have been born later than 1348.

I cannot ascertain, with precision, the time at which Froissart came into Scotland : This much is certain, that he could not have come to Scotland before the captivity of David II. in 1346, for Froissart was born in 1337, and consequently was but nine years of age at the

Thomas Fleeming Earl of Galloway, to Archibald of Douglas, 16th July 1371, affords a collateral support to my argument. See *Essays concerning British antiquities*, p. 86.

the commencement of the long captivity of David II.

He must therefore have come into Scotland after David II. was set at liberty, that is, in 1357, at the earliest.

It is plain that Froissart saw David II. in Scotland. He says, ‘ J’ en vey
 ‘ jusques à cinq beaux, freres, tous
 ‘ escuyers, qui portoyent le furnom
 ‘ de Douglas, *en l’hostel du Roy David*
 ‘ *d’Escoce.*’

Now, as Archibald Douglas could not have been born later than 1348, and as Froissart could not have visited Scotland earlier than 1357, it follows, that at that time Archibald must have been nine years of age. At that time, Froissart resided for a fortnight in the house of the Earl of Douglas; and yet he is positive that the Earl had
 but

but one son, James ; therefore Archibald could not be the brother of James.

It is admitted, that James II. Earl of Douglas had no brother of full blood ; Archibald, therefore, if the brother of James, must have been a year younger at least. Indeed, the presumption is, that there must have been a greater interval between the age of James and Archibald.

James, therefore, must have been born, at the latest, in 1347, and must have been upwards of forty at his death, in 1388.

This is the consequence of the hypothesis, that Archibald was the younger brother of James. I know no way of avoiding it.

If it be once established that James II. Earl of Douglas was upwards of forty when

when he gloriously died at Otterburn; in 1388, it follows that the universal tradition of his having died young is an error.

Hume of Godscroft * likens him to Marcellus in Virgil :

“ Ostendent terris hunc tantum fata, nec ultra
“ Esse finent”——

Which he thus translates :

“ The fates shall make but of this *youth* a shew,
“ Such virtue must not tarry long below *.”

There is another circumstance which I think is of great weight for confirming my proposition, that Archibald the third Earl of Douglas was not the younger brother of James II. Earl of Douglas. It is this : He is said by the
conti-

* *History of the house of Douglas*, p. 103.

continuator of Fordun, to have ‘sur-
 ‘passed all Scotsmen of his age in pro-
 ‘wess and hardy enterprize;’ [fortitu-
 dine et audaciâ]. If he was the younger
 brother of James II. Earl of Douglas,
 this panegyric must be held as destitute
 not only of truth but of probability.

Whoever Archibald Douglas was, it
 is certain that he was not present at the
 battle of Otterburn. From 1388 to
 1400, the year of his death, he could
 have no opportunity of signalizing his
 valour: I would therefore demand,
 Where, and upon what occasion, did he
 distinguish himself by his prowess and
 hardy enterprize?

From all this multiplied evidence, I
 presume that I have made good my
 proposition, ‘That Archibald the third
 ‘Earl of Douglas was not the brother

S

‘ of

‘ of James the second Earl of Douglas,
 ‘ and that he did not succeed to the
 ‘ earldom in right of blood.’

By what means, or under what pretext, George Earl of Angus, the undoubted younger brother of Earl James, was excluded from the succession, it is impossible, at this distance of time, to determine.

Archibald the *Grim* may have been placed at the head of the noble family of Douglas, by some capricious or politic entail.—Under a weak and disjointed government, he may perhaps have attained this pre-eminence by superior power and abilities.

During the course of almost a century, the descendants of Archibald the Grim continued too powerful for the
 peace

peace of the crown, or for their own safety.

At length, in 1488, the male line ended by the death of James IX. Earl of Douglas, and the honours of Douglas returned into the right channel of Angus.

Thus have I stated the evidence in support of my proposition concerning Archibald the third Earl of Douglas, and my objections to the account given of him by genealogical writers.

I must, however, admit, that what I have said has a paradoxical appearance: In particular, it is difficult to understand how the family of Angus, if once excluded from the succession, should have been again admitted.

We know, from record, that the rightful heir of Marr was kept out of possession

possession from 1435 to 1565: But then we also know what was the pretext of the exclusion, and by what deed of national justice the rightful heir was restored *: In this case we know nothing of either.

I should, therefore, suspect that there is some error in my hypothesis; but *where* that error lies, I cannot discover.

* I have seen a hasty performance printed, but not published, wherein it is said that the history of the exclusion of the heir of Marr rests on the credit of Sir Robert Douglas: This is an error; the evidence is in the possession of the family of Marr. I can venture to promise, from the experience I have had of the politeness and liberal ideas of that family, that any inquisitive and studious person may obtain the perusal of the writings which Sir Robert Douglas quotes.

C H A P.

C H A P. VII.

M A R Y of G U E L D R E.

O U R historians have arraigned the chastity of this heroic Princess.

‘ This Queen *Margaret*,’ says Pit-scottie*, ‘ was very wise and virtuous
 ‘ in her husband’s time ; but, soon af-
 ‘ ter his death, she, knowing herself to
 ‘ be *a regent and guider of the realm*,
 ‘ seeing all men to obey her, and none
 ‘ to controul her, she became to be lea-
 ‘ cherous of her body, and took Adam
 ‘ Hepburn of Hailes, who had a wife
 ‘ of

* *P*, 126. last edition, 12mo.

‘ of his own, and committed adultery
 ‘ with him, which caused her to be
 ‘ flighted of all the nobility of Scot-
 ‘ land, that she saw so many noble-
 ‘ men’s sons and barons free of mar-
 ‘ riage, and would not desire one of
 ‘ them to have satisfied her lust, but
 ‘ took another wife’s husband to satisfy
 ‘ her greedy appetite.’

In this narrative there are several circumstances which merit animadversion.

1. Pitscottie is so exceedingly careless as to name the princess whom he thus vilifies, *Margaret*, instead of *Mary*.

2. He says that the Queen Dowager was *a regent and guider of the realm*; and yet it is generally agreed, that she was neither the one nor the other.

3. Adam

3. Adam Hepburn of Hailes is represented as her adulterous paramour. It is singular enough, that the *another wife's husband* whom the Queen took, was the father of a very numerous family: We know of *nine* children of his who arrived at maturity *. This is not a demonstration in favour of Adam Hepburn; it is, however, a presumption in the scale of evidence.

I have no partiality for princes and princesses: It is fit that posterity should see the true representation of their characters, whether deformed or fair; yet, surely the same justice is due to them as to the meanest of the people: Let them stand or fall according to evidence; but let not every blind unauthenticated

* Douglas's *Peerage*, p. 84.

thenticated tale, which has passed thro' the channel of many a credulous, and many a malevolent reporter, be received, to the prejudice of their fame.

Of the Queen Dowager John Major thus speaks: ' After the death of
' James II. she became careless of
' chastity, and seduced a married man,
' Adam Hepburn, the eldest son of
' Lord Hailes. Excessive was the ef-
' frontery of this woman, who took not
' to herself an unmarried man from a-
' mong all the nobility: Herein be-
' having worse than the widow of
' James I.*.'

It

* "*Post Jacobi secundi mortem castitati
" non studuit, sed Adamum Hepburnum, Do-
" mini de Halesio haeredem, virum uxoratum, ad
" stuprum pellexit. Impudentissima haec mulier
" erat, quae ex toto regno virum principem uxore*

" re

It must be obvious to every reader, that the passage in Pitscottie formerly quoted, is nothing else than a rustic commentary on this passage of John Major.

Ferrerius has adopted the narrative of John Major *. He came into Scotland towards the end of the reign of James V.

Buchanan is more moderate ; he only says, ‘ the Queen Dowager died with ‘ no favourable reputation of chastity †.’ A person of his satirical cast, who had
read

“ *re carentum, vel alicujus principis haeredem non*
“ *accepit. Et ita magis improbè quam Jacobi*
“ *primi uxor fecit ;*” D. Gestis Scotorum,
L. 6. c. 19.

* Scot. hist. appendix. fol. 386.

† Moritur— *parum secundâ pudicitiae famâ ;*
Lib. 12. p. 224.

T

read of her incontinency, could not say less.

Bishop Lesley says nothing to her dishonour.

Thus, then, all the evidence against Mary of Gueldre amounts to this, that, about *fifty* years after her death, John Major brought a charge of incontinency against her; that Ferrerius, a foreigner, *seventy* years, and Pitscottie, *a full century*, after her death, adopted this report from John Major, the worst informed, and the most trifling of historians.

Upon such evidence is Mary of Gueldre degraded from the state of a virtuous widow to that of a lewd adulteress!

C H A P.

C H A P. VIII.

PROCLAMATION after FLOUD-
DEN-FIELD.

TH E battle of Floudden was fought on the 9th September 1513. The report of the disaster of that day appears to have reached Edinburgh on the 10th.

The report gave rise to a proclamation by the magistrates of Edinburgh : It is curious and interesting ; and runs thus :

‘ The x day of September [1513]
‘ We do yew to witt, for sa meikill as,
‘ thair

‘ thair is ane greit rumber now laitlie
 ‘ ryfin within this toun, tueching our
 ‘ Soverane Lord and his army, of the
 ‘ quilk we understand thair is cumin na
 ‘ veritie as yet, quhairfore we charge
 ‘ straitlie, and commandis, in our said
 ‘ Soverane Lord the Kingis name, and
 ‘ the presidents for the provest and
 ‘ baillies * within this burch, that all
 ‘ maner of personis, nyhbours, within
 ‘ the samen, have reddy their fensabill
 ‘ geir and wapponis for weir, and com-
 ‘ peir

* On the 19th of August 1513, the pro-
 vost, bailies, and community, in respect
 that they were to pass to the army, “ chose
 “ and left behind thame George of Touris
 “ president, for the provost, and [four o-
 “ ther persons] for the bailies, till have
 “ full jurisdiction in thair absence;” *Re-
 gisters of the city of Edinburgh.*

‘ peir thairwith to the said presidents,
 ‘ at jowing of the comoun bell, for the
 ‘ keeping and defens of the toun agains
 ‘ thame that wald invade the samyn.

‘ And also chairgis, that all women,
 ‘ and specialie vagabounds, that thai pass
 ‘ to thair labours, and be not sene upoun
 ‘ the gait clamourand and cryand, under
 ‘ the pane of banefing of thair persons
 ‘ but favors ; and that the other women
 ‘ of gude pass to the kirk and pray,
 ‘ quhane time requires, for our sove-
 ‘ rane Lord and his army, and nycbouris
 ‘ being thairat, and hald thame at thair
 ‘ privie labors off the gaitt within thair
 ‘ houses, as affeirs.’

In modern language the proclama-
 tion would run thus : ‘ We give you
 ‘ to know, For as much as there is a
 ‘ great rumour newly arisen within
 ‘ this

‘ this city, touching our Sovereign Lord
 ‘ and his army, of which there is hi-
 ‘ therto no certainty : Therefore we
 ‘ strictly charge and command, in the
 ‘ name of our said Lord the King, and
 ‘ of the *presidents* officiating in the
 ‘ place of the provost and bailies of this
 ‘ borough, that all manner of per-
 ‘ sons, townsmen within this borough,
 ‘ make ready their arms of defence,
 ‘ and weapons of war ; and that they
 ‘ appear therewith, in presence of the
 ‘ *presidents*, at the tolling of the com-
 ‘ mon bell, for holding out, and defend-
 ‘ ing of the city, against those who may
 ‘ seek to invade the same.

‘ And we also charge and require,
 ‘ that all women, and especially vaga-
 ‘ bonds, do repair to their work, and
 ‘ be not seen upon the street, clamour-
 ‘ ing

‘ ing and crying, under pain of banish-
 ‘ ment forth of this city, and *that* with-
 ‘ out mitigation of the sentence : And
 ‘ that the women of better sort do repair
 ‘ to the church, and offer up their pray-
 ‘ ers, at the stated hours, for our Sove-
 ‘ reign Lord, and his army, and the
 ‘ townsmen who are with the army ;
 ‘ and that they keep to their private oc-
 ‘ cupations in their houses, and abstain
 ‘ from appearing on the street, as be-
 ‘ cometh.’

The magistrates of Edinburgh, when
 they issued this proclamation, must
 have been convinced, that all was lost,
 and yet their orders are accurate and
 firm, without that pomp of words,
 which, by studying to conceal fear, be-
 trays it.

May

May this compilation contribute to preserve the memory of George of Towris, and his gallant associates !

There is a singular passage in Stow's *Survey of London*, 4to, p. 539. respecting James IV. Stow's work is little known in Scotland : The passage may be interesting to some of my readers, I therefore transcribe it : ‘ After the
 ‘ battle, [of Floudden], the bodie of the
 ‘ said king being found, was closed in
 ‘ lead, and conveyed from thence to
 ‘ London, and to the monasterie of
 ‘ Sheyne in Surry, where it remained
 ‘ for a time, in what order I am not
 ‘ certaine ; but, since the dissolution
 ‘ of that house, in the reigne of Edward
 ‘ the sixt, Henry Gray, Duke of Suf-
 ‘ folke, being lodged, and keeping
 ‘ house there, I have been shewed the
 ‘ same

‘ same bodie, so lapped in lead, close to
 ‘ the head and bodie, throwne into a
 ‘ waste-room amongst the old timber,
 ‘ lead, and other rubble. Since the
 ‘ which time, workmen there, for their
 ‘ foolish pleasure, hewed off his head ;
 ‘ and Lancelot Young, master-glazier
 ‘ to Queen Elisabeth, *feeling a sweet sa-*
 ‘ *vour to come from thence*, and seeing the
 ‘ same dried from all moisture, and yet
 ‘ the form remaining, with the haire of
 ‘ the head, and beard red, brought it to
 ‘ London to his house in Woodstreet,
 ‘ where, for a time, he kept it for its
 ‘ sweetness, but, in the end, caused the
 ‘ sexton of that church [St Michael’s
 ‘ Woodstreet] to bury it amongst other
 ‘ bones taken out of their charnell.’

I stay not to make many reflections
 on this humiliating story : Let me only

U

observe,

observe, that, as James IV. died under sentence of excommunication, and not *in odour of sanctity*, we may conclude, that the *sweet savour* from his scull was occasioned by the gums used in embalming him. This circumstance will account for many a sweet-scented scull discovered upon the opening of graves. Supposing the sweet smell once to exist, there must be great inattention in the parties concerned, if it is not perpetuated for the devout admiration of posterity.

CHAP.

CHAP. IX.

The STATUTE in favour of the
REFORMED, 19th April,
1567.

BUchanan thus expresses himself concerning the parliament which assembled 19th April 1567: ‘ Regina, quod Sterlini in causa religionis promiserat, palam ibi promissum negavit. Id autem erat, ut *primo quoque conventu*, quae per tyrannidem Pontificis Romani latae erant leges abrogarentur, novisque legibus ecclesiae instauratae auctoritas stabiliretur *.’

Keith

* *Lib. xviii. p. 355.*

Keith remarks, ‘ that this act [19th
 ‘ April 1567], is so full and explicite
 ‘ for the settlement of *the new form*, that
 ‘ the parliament held in the month of
 ‘ December following, by the Queen’s
 ‘ inveterate enemies and rebels, could
 ‘ devise nothing stronger; and there-
 ‘ fore *satisfied themselves with repeating*
 ‘ *it* in that new parliament—No body
 ‘ needs find strange that Mr Buchanan
 ‘ should roundly affirm, that nothing
 ‘ could be obtained at this parliament
 ‘ from the Queen, in favours of the
 ‘ reformed religion; but that Archbishop
 ‘ Spotiswood should blindly go into the
 ‘ same steps, is unpardonable in that
 ‘ great prelate *.’

Our

* *History of Scotland*, p. 379. note (c.)

Our latest and best historian says the same thing, although in more elegant language: ‘ Buchanan, *hist.* 355. not
 ‘ only omits taking any notice of this
 ‘ law, but asserts that the Queen, tho’
 ‘ she had given promises in favour of
 ‘ the reformed religion, refused to per-
 ‘ mit any act to pass in support of it,
 ‘ and even dismissed the deputies of the
 ‘ church with contempt. Spotiswood,
 ‘ 202. and Calderwood, vol. iii. 41.
 ‘ both affirm the same thing. It would
 ‘ not have been necessary to observe
 ‘ this instance of Buchanan’s inaccuracy,
 ‘ but that an author so conversant in
 ‘ our laws as Spotiswood, and one so
 ‘ industrious as Calderwood, should
 ‘ commit such an error, when a printed
 ‘ act of parliament to the contrary was
 ‘ before their eyes, is remarkable. Even
 ‘ Buchanan

‘ Buchanan himself has taken notice of
 ‘ this act, *Detectio*, p. 8.’

The same author adds : ‘ *The act
 ‘ itself was so favourable to the doctrine
 ‘ of the reformers, that the parliament,
 ‘ which met next year under very dif-
 ‘ ferent leaders, could substitute nothing
 ‘ stronger or more explicit in its place,
 ‘ and thought it sufficient to ratify it
 ‘ word for word*.*’

Notwithstanding the united authority
 of these two historians, I am persuaded
 that they have totally misunderstood
 the sense of the statute, and that Bu-
 chanan has given a just representation
 of the Queen’s conduct in the parlia-
 ment April 1567.

According to Buchannan, it was ex-
 pected in the parliament April 1567,

‘ Ut

* *Robertson*, vol. i. p. 352.

‘ Ut quae per tyrannidem Romani Pon-
 ‘ tificis latae leges erant abrogaren-
 ‘ tur, *novisque legibus ecclesiae instau-*
 ‘ *ratae auctoritas stabiliretur.*’ In other
 words, ‘ That popery should be abo-
 ‘ lished, and the reformed religion e-
 ‘ stablished by law.’

Of the *one*, without the *other*, the re-
 formers in that age had no idea. If
 the *evangile* was set up, it was, in their
 opinion, a necessary consequence, that
popish idolatry should be extirpated.
 They had no idea of any sort of tole-
 ration or connivance.

Now, What did the statute April
 1567 provide for gratifying their fan-
 guine and too credulous expecta-
 tions?

It

It did not establish the reformed religion as the religion of the state, neither did it abolish popery.

The statute grants a precarious toleration of the *religion*, by the grace and favour of the Queen, *with the advice of the three estates*, and, at the same time, repeals all former statutes which might be inconsistent with that grace.

It concludes with a most equivocal provision : ‘ Like as, alswa her Majestie, God willing, in times convenient, shall take further ordour, in all uther points concerning the estate of religion, as may best serve the glorie of God, commoun weil of this realme, and continuing of commoun peace and quietnesse universallie amangis all her subjects.’

Here

Here is a studied ambiguity of expression, which, however it might serve to cajole the multitude *, could not have imposed on the vigilant and suspicious leaders of the congregation.

The statute neither gave that security to the protestant faith, nor made that declaration against the tenets of the church of Rome, which the statutes enacted in the parliament 1560 had done.

The reformers never lost sight of the parliament 1560: They persisted in asserting the legality of that parliament, although the Queen persisted in denying it; and accordingly we find, that, in

* “ *Blandimenta plebi concessa,*” as Buchanan speaks, *Detectio*, p. 8,

in December 1567, *her rebels*, as Keith terms them, began their work by ratifying ‘ an act maid in the parliament
 ‘ haldin at Edinburgh the 24th day of
 ‘ August, the yeir of God 1560.’”

Now, in such circumstances, could it afford any satisfaction to the reformers, that the Queen issued an ordinance, dispensing with the penal laws against protestants, and tolerating that sect, untill her farther pleasure should be known?

If this was done with the approbation of the three estates, it was a virtual repeal of the statutes 1560; if it was considered as done by the Queen’s own authority, it encroached still more upon the pretensions, and upon the security of the reformers.

Nine bishops were present at enacting the statute of the 19th April 1567*. Among them there were, Hamilton archbishop of St Andrew's, Chisolm bishop of Dunblane, and Lesley bishop of Ross. History records their ardent zeal for the old doctrines. We cannot suppose them to have consented to *an act so favourable to the doctrine of the reformers*, that the reformers themselves *could substitute nothing stronger or more explicate in its place*; and we may be assured that the reformers in 1567 saw the improbability of this supposition in a stronger light than we can possibly do.

Indeed, it is a great mistake to imagine that the leaders in the parliament
December

* *Anderson*, vol. I. p. 115.

December 1567 ‘ *thought* it sufficient
 ‘ to ratify this statute word for word.’
 The contrary does most evidently appear
 from various statutes enacted at
 that zealous season. See c. 2. c. 3.
 c. 5. c. 6. c. 9.

The coronation-oath in ch. 8. is introduced
 with this singular preamble :
 ‘ Because that the encrease of vertew
 ‘ and *suppressing of idolatrie* craves, that
 ‘ the prince and the people be of ane
 ‘ perfite religion, quhilk of God’s mer-
 ‘ cy is now presently professed within
 ‘ this realme.’

One clause in the oath is, that the So-
 vereign ‘ shall abolish and gainstand all
 ‘ false religioun.’

All this is of a strain very different
 from the temporary and provisional to-
 leration

leration in the statute 19th April 1567.

When the statutes enacted in December 1567 are attentively considered, they will be found incompatible with the spirit of the statute 19th April 1567.

There is no evidence that the latter parliament ever ratified the statute of the former. It is true that the statute 19th April 1567 is to be found among the printed acts of parliament December 1567; but there is no vestige of a ratification: And indeed, a ratification of it would have been contradictory to the whole proceedings of the new leaders in church and state.

Whether it has been inserted among the statutes of December 1567 by some
favourer

favourer of Queen Mary, to show how *much* she had done towards reformation, or by some favourer of Murray, to shew how *little*, I will not pretend to say.

C H A P.

C H A P. X.

JAMES HEPBURN Earl of Bothwell.

BRantôme says, ‘ ce Bothvel estoit
 ‘ *le plus laid homme* et d’aussi mau-
 ‘ vaïse grace qui se pût voir.’

As far as I can judge, Brantôme never saw Bothwell. He seems to have got his information from one du Cros, an officer of Queen Mary’s household *.

Upon the authority of this du Cros, Brantôme relates, ‘ that the Queen re-
 ‘ mained a prisoner in the castle of St
 ‘ An-

* He calls him *intendant de sa maison*.

‘ Andrew’s for near a twelvemonth;
 ‘ that she was set at liberty by the means
 ‘ of Beton, nephew of the Archbishop
 ‘ of Glasgow; that she then assembled
 ‘ an army; but that the army betrayed
 ‘ her, and concurred with her enemies
 ‘ in a plot to make her captive, and
 ‘ convey her to England.’

This narrative mistakes names, confounds dates, and perverts facts: It is of itself enough to ruin the little credit of Brantôme, as a dealer in second-hand historical wares.

Adam Blackwood appears to have known nothing of the supposed ugliness of Bothwell: He says, ‘lequel
 ‘ [Bothwell] ils extollent tant pour sa
 ‘ noblesse, *pour sa beauté*, pour sa vaillance
 ‘ et dextérité en fait de guerre
 ‘ qu’ils

‘ qu’ils ne lui trouvent point de para-
 ‘ gon *.’

The apologists of Mary spoke the
 same language in the last century.
 G. Con mentions Bothwell to have
 been represented ‘ tum bellicâ laude,
 ‘ tum animi corporisque dotibus, apud
 ‘ cunctos insignem†.’

Buchanan, in his *actio contra Mariam*,
 says, ‘ Quid erat in eo quod mulieri
 ‘ paullum honestiori concupiscendum
 ‘ foret? Visne eloquentiae? An *formae*
 ‘ *dignitas*? An virtus animi, quae re-
 ‘ rum fortuitarum accessione commen-
 ‘ darentur? *At de eloquentia et formæ*
 ‘ *non est opus oratione longâ; cum et qui*
 ‘ *eum*

* *Martyre de Marie Stuart* apud Jebb.
 t. 2. p. 217.

† *Vita Mariae* apud Jebb. t. 2. p. 31.

‘ *eum viderint, vultus et incessus corpo-*
 ‘ *risque totius qui fuerit habitus, memi-*
 ‘ *nisse possint ; et qui audierint, hominis*
 ‘ *infantiam et hebetudinem non igno-*
 ‘ *rent.*’

The declamation in the Scottish lan-
 guage is somewhat different: ‘ *Quhat*
 ‘ *was thair in him that was of ane wo-*
 ‘ *man of ony honest countenance to be*
 ‘ *desyrit ? Was thair ony gift of elo-*
 ‘ *quence, or grace of bewtie or vertew*
 ‘ *of mynd, garnischt with the benefites*
 ‘ *quhilk we call of fortoun ? As for his*
 ‘ *eloquence and bewtie, we need not mak*
 ‘ *lang tail of thame, sen baith thay that*
 ‘ *have sene him can weill remember his*
 ‘ *countenance, his gate, and the haill*
 ‘ *forme of his body, how gay it was ;*
 ‘ *they that have hard him, ar not igno-*
 ‘ *rant*

‘rant of his rude utterance and block-
‘ifchness.’

‘How *gay* it was ;’ the word is still
used in Scotland, in the sense of *mid-
dling*, or *tolerable*. Thus, ‘a *gay*
‘meikle calland,’ means ‘a pretty well
‘grown boy ;’ and thus, ‘I am *gaily*,’
means ‘I am tolerably well.’

It would appear that Buchanan
meant to convey the idea of Bothwell
being ill-looking, without directly assert-
ing that he was so.

The ugliness of Bothwell was a rhe-
torical topic, not to be omitted in this
declamation ; and yet it seems that
Buchanan doubted how far it could
be used, without insulting the senses of
such of his readers as had seen Both-
well.

This

This passionate declaimer had forgot that the sonnets, which he himself ascribes to Mary, represent Bothwel as

“ Celui, qui n’a en sens, n’y en vaillance,

“ Ny en *beauté*, en bonté ny constance,

“ Point de second.”

It is highly improbable that such lines would have been introduced into the sonnet, had not Bothwell been esteemed a well-looking man.

A dispassionate examiner of history will not be surprisèd when he sees Brantôme and Buchanan concur in bearing testimony to the ill-looks of Bothwell; the one, to prove the innocence of Mary; the other, to aggravate her guilt; both, to serve a party.

Some have supposed that Bothwell was descending into the vale of life, before

fore he became intimately connected with the young and beautiful Mary.

According to this hypothesis, *he* was the Earl of Bothwell who figured throughout the minority of Mary.

Mary herself says of Bothwell, ‘ Be-
gynand *from his verie youth*, and first
entres to this realme *immediatelie after*
*the deceis of his fader**,’ &c.

This ascertains, by undisputable authority, that Bothwell did not engage in public business till after the death of his father ; and that at that time he was a *very young man*.

The special service of James Earl of Bothwell to his father Patrick, is at present in my possession : It is dated, 3d November 1556.

The

* *Anderson*, vol. i. p. 89.

The inquest consisted of the following persons :

1. James, Lord Ross of Hawkeid and Malvile.
2. Patrick Hepburne of Wauch-toun.
3. James Cockburn of Langtoun.
4. William Lauder of Haltoun.
5. John Sinclair of Hirdmanstoun.
6. John Pennicuke of Pennicuke.
7. Gilbert Wauchope of Nidry Mar-scell.
8. Robert Fairlie of Braid.
9. Andrew Johnstoun of Elphinstoun.
10. George Brown of Coilstoun.
11. John Lyle of Stanypeth.
12. Patrick Whitelaw of Whitelaw.
13. George Home of Broxmouthe.
14. Wil-

14. William Newtoun of Newtoun.

15. John Sinclare of Blance.

This inquest reports upon oath, that the estates and offices therein mentioned were in the hands of the Sovereign,
 ‘ ob causam mortis dicti quondam Pa-
 ‘ tricii Comitis de Bothvile patris ip-
 ‘ sius Jacobi Hepburne, latoris prae-
 ‘ sentium, *qui obiit per spatium quinque*
 ‘ *hebdomadarum, ultimo elapsarum, aut*
 ‘ *ea circa, ante confectionem praesentis*
 ‘ *inquisitionis.*’

Earl Patrick died about five weeks before 3d November 1556, the date of the instrument; that is, he died about the end of September 1556.

If, then, Bothwell was a very young man at his father's death; and, if his
 father

father died in September 1556, it follows, that, in 1566, Bothwell was about thirty-two or thirty-three, in the prime and vigour of life.

CHAP.

CHAP. XI.

Of the SONNETS ascribed to
QUEEN MARY.

WHether Queen Mary wrote the famous *letters* to Bothwell, I enquire not—The champion of her honour remains in possession of the field: Both Mr Hume and Dr Robertson have quitted the lists.

I have some observations to make on the *sonnets* ascribed to Queen Mary, but not in the spirit of controversy.

My first proposition is, ‘that the
‘sonnets in the Scottish language are,
‘what they are said to be, a version
‘from the French.’

Here Mr Goodall differs in opinion from me, but with a sort of hesitation,

Z

which

which rarely occurs in his *Apology*. His words are : ‘ The sonnets too, ‘ *seem* to have been first written in the ‘ Scottish language, as well as the letters. Each sonnet is known to consist ‘ of fourteen verses ; but unhappily two ‘ of ours, to wit, the third and eight, ‘ in the *original* French, have only thirteen verses ; and yet we have the full ‘ fourteen always in the alledged Scots ‘ *translation*, which *would rather argue*, ‘ that *it* was the original*.’

It is true that there are two lines in the Scottish sonnets which have no corresponding lines in the French ; but a literal translation of them into French produces two lines exactly agreeable to the measure, and even to the rhymes of the sonnets. Thus, S. iii. v. 13.
‘ And

* *Examination*, vol. i. p. 127.

‘ And not the les, my hart, ze dout of
 ‘ my constance,’ may be thus rendered
 in French : ‘ *Et mesiez pourtant, mon*
 ‘ *coeur, de ma constance.*’ S. viii. v. 6.

‘ For him I will stryve aganis wan-
 ‘ weird,’ may be thus rendered in
 French : ‘ *Pour lui je veux lucter contre*
 ‘ *malheur.*’

The lines omitted by the carelessness
 of the publisher were certainly to this
 purpose, though I will not pretend to
 affirm that they were precisely the same.
 Some of my readers, more conversant
 in French poetry than I am, will better
 supply the blanks.

Indeed, there is nothing in Mr Good-
 all’s argument ; for, if the sonnets had
 been translated out of the Scottish in-
 to the French language, the translator
 could not have omitted a line, by
 which

which his sonnet would have been imperfect both in the number of lines and in the measure. To suppose this, is just as if one were to suppose that a Latin poet would write an epigram in elegiac verse, consisting of *five* lines, or omit the *Adonic* in a Sapphic strophe.

1. A conclusive argument for proving the Scottish sonnets to be a translation, may be drawn from this circumstance, that in several places the words are *Scottish*, while the idiom is *French*.

A few examples may suffice to satisfy every impartial reader who understands French. A reader, who, like Mr Goodall, has just a smattering of the French language, or who, like Mr Goodall, imagines that Mary was never subject to ‘ one single foible from
‘ her

‘ her cradle to her grave*, will neither
 ‘ understand nor relish my argument.

S. i. v. 7. ‘ *En la vie incertaine,*
 the Scottish sonnet has, ‘ in *the* life un-
 ‘ certane.’

S. iii. v. 12. ‘ *Par l’avis des parens*
 ‘ *elle eust votre* acquaintance.’ The Scot-
 tish sonnet has, ‘ Scho had your *ac-*
 ‘ *quenance* be consent of hir freindis.’
Acquaintance, in this place, is the inti-
 mate society of man and woman, not
acquaintance in our sense of the word.
s’acointer d’une fille, is something more
 than *to get acquainted with a girl*.

S. vii. v. 7. ‘ *Sans apparence;*’ the
 Scottish sonnet has, ‘ without ony *ap-*
 ‘ *peiring*

* Preface to *Examination*, p. xxviii. Mr
 Goodall, no doubt, imagined, that, while
 the Queen was an infant,

“ Guttâ pallia non fefellit unâ.”

‘*peiring* cause.’ The French expression means, ‘without reason or probability.’

S. viii. v. 8—9. ‘*Que je n’ay bien—qu’à l’obeir.*’ The Scottish sonnet has,
 ‘That I have na *welth*—but to obey him.’ The sense is, that to obey him is my only ‘*good*.’

2. Another circumstance tending to the same conclusion is, that, in some places, the Scottish sonnets are obscure where the French are plain. Thus,

S. vi. v. 5. ‘Be wrytings and *paint-ed learning*.’ Fr. ‘*Par les escrits tous fardés de scavoir ;*’ *i. e.* ‘By writings *affectedly learned* ;’ or rather, to use a vulgar expression, ‘*affectedly clever*.’

S. iv. v. 11. ‘Then I *moan* her not to lufe ardently.’ Fr. ‘*Je ne la plain d’aimer*

‘*d’aimer donc ardemment*; i. e. ‘I do
 ‘not pity her for loving ardently.’

S. iv. v. 14. ‘*I leif in the belief.*’
 Fr. ‘*Je vy en ceste foi*; i. e. ‘These
 ‘are my steady sentiments.’

3. Further, in many places, the Scot-
 tish sonnets are either unintelligible, or
 express a sentiment different from what
 the strain of the discourse seems to re-
 quire. Thus,

S. iv. v. 6. ‘And has conquest *the*
 ‘*same tyme* your hart.’ Fr. ‘*Et a*
 ‘*gagné pour un tems votre coeur.*’ The
 meaning of the expression is this : ‘It
 ‘was one of the advantages which
 ‘Lady Jane Gordon derived from her
 ‘alliance with Earl Bothwell, that she
 ‘possessed his heart *for a season.*’

S. iv. v. 7. ‘Be yow scho *hes* ple-
 ‘sure and *gude* luck.’ Fr. ‘*Par vous*
 ‘elle

‘ elle *a eu* plaisir et *bon heur* ;’ *i. e.* ‘ By
 ‘ you she has *enjoyed* pleasure and *happi-*
 ‘ *ness*.’ The writer could never mean
 to speak in the present tense.—*Bon-*
heur may be translated *good luck*, but
 not in this place.

S. vi. v. 3. ‘ To *estime* the lufe of
 ‘ sic ane luifer. Fr. ‘ *De n’estimer*
 ‘ *l’amour d’un tel amant*.’ This is just
 the reverse of the other, and is what the
 strain of the argument requires.

S. vii. v. 4. ‘ And I *cannot assure*
 ‘ you of my treuth.’ Fr. ‘ *Et ne vous*
 ‘ *puis assurer de ma foi*.’ *i. e.* ‘ And
 ‘ yet *I cannot convince you* of my since-
 ‘ *rity*.’

Thus, I apprehend, I have sufficiently
 proved that ‘ the sonnets in the Scot-
 ‘ tish language are what they are said to
 ‘ be, a version from the French.’

Con-

Concerning the French sonnets, there is a celebrated passage in Brantôme.— It has been frequently appealed to, as affording irrefragable evidence, that sonnets, so rude and mean, could not have been composed by Mary.

The passage in Brantôme runs thus:
 ‘ Elle se mêloit d’estre poete et compo-
 ‘ soit des vers, dont j’en ay veu aucuns
 ‘ de beaux, et tres bien faits, et nulle-
 ‘ ment ressemblans à ceux qu’on lui a
 ‘ mis sus avoir fait sur l’amour du
 ‘ Comte de Bothveil, *ils sont trop gros-*
 ‘ *siers et mal-polis pour estre sortis d’elle.*
 ‘ *Mr de Ronsard estoit bien de mon opinion*
 ‘ *en cela, ainsi que nous en discourions un*
 ‘ *jour et que nous les lisions.* Elle com-
 ‘ posoit bien de plus beaux, et de plus
 ‘ gentils, et promptement, comme le
 ‘ j’ay veu souvent, comme elle se re-

A a

‘ tiroit

‘ tiroit à son cabinet, et sortoit aussi tost
 ‘ pour nous en montrer à aucuns hon-
 ‘ nestes gens que nous estions.’

Brantôme adds a curious remark on
 the Queen's eloquence : ‘ Mesme que
 ‘ sa langue naturelle, qui de soi est fort
 ‘ rurale, barbare, malsonante, et seante,
 ‘ elle la parloit de si belle grace, et la
 ‘ façonnoit de telle sorte qu'elle la faisoit
 ‘ tres belle, et tres agreable en elle,
 ‘ mais non en autres. Voyes quelle
 ‘ vertu avoit une telle beauté, et telle
 ‘ grace, de faire tourner un barbarisme
 ‘ grossier en douce civilité et gracieuse
 ‘ mondanité.’

The old gentleman meant to prove
 that Mary was very eloquent ; and, with
 that view, tells a tale which proves
 her to have been very pretty.

He

He has preserved a specimen of her poetry, being an ode, occasioned by the death of her first husband, Francis II. King of France.

I transcribe two stanzas of it, for the benefit of such of my readers as may not be possessed of Brantôme's works.

8.

- “ Si par fois vers les cieux
- “ Viens adresser ma veüe,
- “ Le doux trait de ces yeux
- “ Je vois en une nuë,
- “ Soudain le vois en l'eau
- “ Comme dans un tombeau.”

This, I suppose, is what Brantôme reckoned ‘ *beau et gentil*.’

II.

- “ Mets, chanson, icy fin
- “ A si triste complainte,

“ Dont

“ Dont fera le refrain,
 “ *Amour vraye et non feinte*
 “ *Pour la separation*
 “ *N'aura diminution.*

This stanza may serve to shew what sort of poetry it was which Mary indeed wrote.

The opinion of Brantôme signifies nothing in matters of literature, however respectable the opinion of Ronfard may be held; yet Brantôme, with his usual vanity and egotism, says, ‘ Mr de
 ‘ Ronfard *etoit bien de mon opinion.*’

Brantôme has favoured us with his sentiments of the poetry of another crowned head, Charles IX.: ‘ Il voulut
 ‘ scavoir la poesie, et *se mesler d’en e-*
 ‘ *crire, et fort gentiment.* Monsieur de
 ‘ Ronfard en a monsté en son livre
 ‘ quelque petit eschantillon, et m’es-
 ‘ *tonne,*

‘ tonne, qu’il n’en a montré davan-
 ‘ tage, car il a bien composé que cela,
 ‘ et sur tout des quadraings, qu’il faisoit
 ‘ *fort gentiment*, prestement, et im-
 ‘ promptu, sans songer, comme j’en
 ‘ ay veu plusieurs, qu’il daignoit bien
 ‘ quelquefois montrer à ses plus pri-
 ‘ vez, en sortant de son cabinet *.’

It is remarkable that Brantôme uses the very same expressions of Charles and his poetry, as of Mary and hers.
 ‘ Elle *se mesloit*—il voulut *se mesler*—elle
 ‘ composoit de plus *gentils*—il faisoit des
 ‘ quadraings *fort gentiment*.’

Nay more, he praises them *both* for their readiness at extemporary compositions.
 ‘ Elle se retiroit à son cabinet,
 ‘ et sortoit aussi tost pour nous en mon-
 ‘ trer

* Charles IX. t. 9. p. 453.

“ strer——j’ en ay veu plusieurs, qu’ il
 “ daignoit bien quelquefois monittrer à
 “ ses plus privez *en sortant de son cabi-*
 “ *net.*”

As I know not of any controverfy depending with relation to the poetry of Charles IX. I do not hesitate to transcribe part of a poem of his addressed to Ronfard.

It will speak for itself, and will shew how competent a judge Brantôme was of the merit of royal poetry.

“ Ronfard, je connois bien, que si tu ne me
 “ vois,

“ Tu oublies soudain de ton grand Roi la
 “ voix,

“ Mais pour t’en souvenir, pense que je
 “ n’oublie

“ Continuer toujours d’apprendre en poesie--

“ Il faut suivre ton Roi qui t’aime par fus
 “ tous

“ Pour

“ Pour les vers qui de toi coulent braves et
 “ doux,
 “ Et crois, si tu ne viens me trouver à Am-
 boise,
 “ Qu’ entre nous aviendra une bien grande
 “ noife.”

There is more of it; but this may serve as a specimen of the *pretty* [gentil] *poetry* of Charles IX. which Brantôme praised, and Ronfard extolled to the heavens *.

The following translation will give a tolerable idea of the original to my English reader:

Ronfard, I know, that when you see me not,
 Of your *Great King* the voice is soon forgot;
 But

* See his works.—ΘΕΟΥ ΦΩΝΗ, ΚΑΙ
 ΟΥΚ ΑΝΘΡΩΠΟΥ.—I doubt not that
 “*Torva Mimalloneis implêrunt cornua bombis*” was
 a golden verse in the days of Nero.

But to revive your memory, think that I
 Continue to improve in poesy——
 Follow your King you ought, who thee above
 All men for verses fine and sweet does love.
 If you don't meet me at Amboise, no doubt,
 Between us two a quarrel must fall out.

I flatter myself that my translation
 nearly equals the royal original.

Charles IX. is celebrated by Brantôme as an admirable *farrier*. ‘L’ay
 ‘veu forger—fers de chevaux—aussi
 ‘bien que les plus robustes mareschaux
 ‘et forgerons qui fussent aux forges *.’

He is celebrated by Aubigne as an
 incomparable *marksman*.

“ Quand ce Roi, pas juste Roi mais juste
 “ Arquebusier,
 “ Giboyoit les passans, trop tardifs a se
 “ noyer †”

I have

* *Tom. 9. p. 450.*

† *Tragiques*; a singular work, now almost
 forgotten.

I have endeavoured to do justice to his poetical talents.

Let any one compare the sonnets ascribed to Mary, with the admired compositions of Charles IX. and then determine *which* deserves the preference.

It must be remembered that my present enquiry is not, ‘ Whether the sonnets *were* composed by Mary? but, ‘ Whether they are *si grossiers et mal polis*, to use the words of Brantôme, ‘ as that they *could not* be composed ‘ by Mary?’

During the 16th century, it was the mode in France to write verses. The taste of the age was not refined; the rules of poetry were not then ascertained; nor the delicacies of cadence understood. Hence an inundation of
coarse,

coarse, harsh, hobbling verses overflowed the court.

At that period a species of poetry was in vogue, which, I think, they termed *conversation-verse*; that is, prose, with the fetters of rhyme.

In such *conversation-verse* the Queen of Navarre, a wit by profession, thus writes to Marot:

“ Si ceux à qui devez, comme vous dites,
 “ Vous cognoissoient comme je vous cognois,
 “ Quitte seriez des debtes que vous faites
 “ Le tems paisé, tant grandes que petites,
 “ En leur payant un dizain toutes fois
 “ Tel que le vostre, qui vaut mieux mille fois
 “ Que l'argent deu par vous, en consci-
 “ ence*.” &c.

Marot

* *Recueil des plus pieces des poetes Francois,*
 1692. Tom. 1. p. 108.

Marot was the favourite author of those days : Nothing more easy than to imitate his faults ; and *they* were all imitated*.

If there is any truth in these observations, the sonnets ascribed to Queen Mary will not be found so contemptible as they have been generally reputed.

Enough

* There was a time when the French court admired Marot's paraphrase of the Psalms——There are many extraordinary passages in that paraphrase which I do not chuse to quote, *One*, however, I may, without offence : It is in ps. 32.

“ Ne fois semblable à cheval ni à mule,

“ Qui n'ont en eux intelligence nulle,

“ Pour les garder de mordre tu refreins

“ Leurs dents et gueule avecques mords et
“ freins.”

Is there any thing more creepingly prosaic in the sonnets ascribed to Queen Mary?

Enough has been said of the composition ; I now proceed to speak of the time at which the sonnets were composed.

Dr Robertson has not examined the sonnets with sufficient attention. He imagines that they were composed, or understood to be composed, before the murder of Darnley. I think that the contrary is evident from the sonnets themselves.

The author, treating of Bothwell's wife, says, S. 4. v. 1. 2.

“ Par vous, mon coeur, et par votre alliance,

“ Elle a remis sa maison en bonneur.”

Now, this was altogether false at the time of Darnley's murder. Indeed it was not literally true before the 19th April 1567, when the act of parliament,

ment, forfeiting the Earl of Huntley and his kindred, was repealed.

A conclusive argument against Dr Robertson's hypothesis arises from the general tenor of the sonnets : They are written in the character of a person free from all matrimonial engagements.

As to the author of the sonnets, I say nothing positively.—They who believe that Bothwell's testament is genuine *, may ascribe the sonnets to Queen Mary. If

* *Keith*, appendix, p. 144. “ Pourfuit
 “ apres ; comme, par enchantement, auquel
 “ des sajeunesse à Paris et ailleurs il s'estoit
 “ beaucoup addonné, il avoit tiré la Reine
 “ l'aimer.” [*i e.* “ *drawn* the Queen to
 “ love him.”] Valour, assiduity, and match-
 less impudence, were the inchantments
 which Bothwell employed. They have
 won many a heart, sage and obdurate as
 Mary's.

If Bothwell gained her love by the help of magic spells, he may by magic spells have induced her to write the sonnets.

This, however, does not satisfy me; for I hold that Bothwell's *last speech and dying words* is a shallow forgery.

At first sight, one is shocked at undisguised declarations of love made to a married man: Such there are in the sonnets ascribed to Mary.

Next to the passions of man, I know not any thing which has so fatally checked the growth and progress of truth, as *that* prejudice which tries every fact and custom related in history by the standard of our own manners.

When we read of facts or customs dissimilar from what we see every day, we generally pronounce them to be fictions. This is the brief decision of
ignorance.

ignorance. But, if we chance to know any thing of the laws of evidence, we pronounce them to be absurd.

By this standard the laws of Lycurgus, of the Decemvirs, and even of Moses, have been tried. By it the Greeks judged of Asiatic customs, the French, of the Greek theatre. By it, I doubt not, our approved European manners will be retried, whenever the Hottentots shall have imbibed a slight tincture of the *belles lettres*.

Let us apply these obvious reflections to the present case. Bothwell and his wife Lady Jane Gordon were cousins within the prohibited degrees ; they had married without a papal dispensation. In the opinion of zealous Roman Catholics, their union was null : It was an
illicit

illicit carnal intercourse, under the form of a sacrament of the church.

Mary appears to have understood the canon-law ; for she thus speaks in her instructions to her ambassadors at the French court in May 1567 : ‘ In cais it
 ‘ fall be objectit to you be the King,
 ‘ the Quene, or oure uncle, or ony uther
 ‘ oure friendis, that our present marriage can not be lauchfull, in respect
 ‘ that he quhomewith we are presentlie
 ‘ jointit was before couplit to a wyff, ye
 ‘ fall reply and answer, according to the
 ‘ verie treuth, that, albeit he was be-
 ‘ foir mareit, yet the mariage with him,
 ‘ *the former contract and band, wes be*
 ‘ *the ordoure of law expressit in the ca-*
 ‘ *nonis, reffavit and practeyfit in the*
 ‘ *realme, for lauchfull cause of consan-*
 ‘ *guinity, and utheris relevant, dissolvit,*
 ‘ and

‘ and the proces of divorce ordourlie
 ‘ led *.’

The bigotted attachment of Mary to the canons of the Romish church will also account for another passage in her *Instructions*. Treating of her violent abduction to the castle of Dunbar, she says, ‘ *Albeit we fand his doing rude,*
 ‘ yet were his answere and wordis but
 ‘ *gentill*, that he wald honour and serve
 ‘ us, and wald naways offend us ; askit
 ‘ pardoun of the baldness he had tane
 ‘ to convey us to ane of oure awin hou-
 ‘ ses, quhairunto he was drevin be
 ‘ force, *alsweil as constrainit be luse,*
 ‘ *the vehemency quhairof had maid him*
 ‘ *to set apart the reverence quibilk natu-*
 ‘ *rallye as oure subject he bure to us †.*’

C c

Had

* *Anderson*, vol. 1. p. 100-101.

† *Ibid.* vol. 1. p. 96.

Had the Queen considered Bothwell as bound to Lady Jane Gordon, by the indissoluble ties of a solemn sacrament of the church, she would have execrated his flagitious addresses, *the vehemency of his love* would, in her eyes, have served to aggravate, rather than diminish his guilt.

But the Queen knew the canons; and therefore knew that the chief obstacle to their union lay in the great disproportion of their ranks.

On the 24th of April 1567, she was violently carried off to the castle of Dunbar. About the 12th May, she conferred on Bothwell the title of "Duke of Orkney". On the 13th May, she signed a marriage-contract with the Duke of Orkney. On the 15th May, she married him *.

If

* *Goodall*, vol. ii. p. 57. *Keith*, 385-386.

If the sonnets were composed by Mary, they were composed between the 24th April and the 15th May 1567.

She was a single woman; Bothwell had no engagements which the canon law authorized. If Bothwell had found means by his *gentill words* to insinuate himself into the good graces of his Queen, was it unnatural for her, circumstanced as she was, to avow those sentiments which the *vehemency of his love* had excited?

But, to consider the matter in another light, the adventure of the 24th April did certainly tarnish the reputation of Mary. It would have been easier to convince the world that she was carried off *by violence*, than that she was detained in the castle of Dunbar *without violence*.

After

After Mary had remained a fortnight under the power of a daring profligate adventurer, few foreign princes would have solicited her hand.

Some of her subjects might still have fought that honour ; but her compliance would have been humiliating beyond measure ; it would have left her at the mercy of a capricious husband ; it would have exposed her to the disgrace of being reproached, in some fullen hour, for the adventure at Dunbar.

Mary was so situated, at this critical period, that she was reduced to this horrid alternative ; either to remain in a friendless and most hazardous celibacy ; or to yield her hand to Bothwell *. Might

* Melvil expresses this sentiment bluntly.

“ The Queen could not but marry him,
“ seeing

Might not a woman, in such circumstances, have composed sonnets in the style of those ascribed to Mary ?

It would appear that the person who composed the sonnets was well acquainted with Mary's *Instructions* to her ambassadors at the French court, dated in May 1567.

There

“ seeing he had ravished her, and lain with
“ her against her will,” p. 80. fol. edit.

M. Voltaire, *a well informed historian*, observes that “ Bothvell eut toute l’insolence
“ qui fuit les grands crimes. Il assembla
“ les principaux seigneurs, et leur fit signer
“ un escrit, par lequel il etait dit expresse-
“ ment que la Reine ne se pouvait dispenser
“ de l’epouser, puisqu’il l’avoit enlevée, et
“ qu’il avoit couché avec elle. Tous ces faits
“ sont averés ;” *hist. univ. Marie Stuart*. This *authenticated fact* has escaped the observation of our writers.

There are some passages in the *Instructions*, and in the *Sonnets*, which bear a wonderful resemblance to each other.

1. ‘ Of our awin subjectis *thair wes*
 ‘ *nane*, either for the reputatioun of his
 ‘ hous, or *for the worthiness of himself*,
 ‘ *alsweill in wisdome, valyeantnes, and*
 ‘ *all other gude qualities, to be preferred,*
 ‘ *or yitt comparit to him* quhom we have
 ‘ taken.’

S. iv. v. 12. &c.

“ *Celui qui n’a en sens, ny en vaillance,*
 “ *Ny en beauté, en bonté ny constance,*
 “ *Point de second.*”——

‘ *Celui qui na en sens ny en vaillance*
 ‘ *point de second,*’ is a translation, at
 once correct and elegant, of ‘ *there*
 ‘ *wes nane for wisdom or valyeant-*
 ‘ *nes to be preferred, or yitt comparit*
 ‘ *to him.*’

2. The

2. The Queen apologizes for her having married a protestant, without the consent of her relations; and she speaks of Bothwell not ‘ weying quhat wes
 ‘ convenient for us that hes bene no-
 ‘ rissed in oure awin religion, and nevir
 ‘ intendis to leif the samyn, for him, or
 ‘ ony man upon earth.’

There is a singular passage in the sonnets, where the offence given to her relations, by an union with a protestant, is mentioned in a feeling strain.

S. I. v. 9. &c. After having mentioned *offence de parens*, the writer adds,

“ Pour luy, tous mes amis j’estime moins
 “ que rien,
 “ Et de mes ennemis je veux esperer bien,
 “ J’ay hazardé pour luy et nom et *conscience*.”

And

And again, S. ix. v. 11. &c.

“ Pour luy, j’ay hazardé grandeur et *conscience* ;

“ Pour luy, tous mes parens j’ay quitté et amis,

“ Et tous autres respects sont à part mis.”

I suppose that both the enemies and the partizans of Mary understand the word *conscience* in another sense than that which I put upon it. In my opinion, the writer of the sonnets meant to express this sentiment, ‘ That an union with a protestant would be disgusting to the family of Lorraine, especially when made without their advice ; and that it was scarcely consistent with her scrupulous veneration for the Romish faith.’

3. In the *Instructions*, she says, ‘ he is our husband, whom we will *baith* love and honour,’ &c.

S. x.

S. x. v. 5. 6.

“ Car c’est le seul desir de votre chere amie

“ *De vous servir et loyaument aimer.*”

Had the one been a translation from the other, the expression could not have more exactly corresponded.

It is remarkable that the sonnets contain several allusions to minute incidents. This does not prove the sonnets to be genuine ; but it gives them an air of truth.

There are two known methods of detecting a forgery by internal evidence.

1. When the writer limits himself to general topics, although his subject, and the passions and situation of the person whom he represents, naturally lead into a detail of circumstances.

2. When the author enters into particulars which are ill-connected, improbable, or false. Of the *first*, the read-

er may see an example in the epistles ascribed to Phalaris ; of the *second*, in the history of Joseph Ben Gorion.

Unfortunately, the falsity of the *sonnets* cannot be ascertained by either criterion.

The sonnets speak of many minute, and not improbable circumstances.

Thus, of Lady Jane Gordon, the writer says, S. iv. v. 9. 10.

“ Et n’a perdu si non la jouissance

“ D’un fâcheux sot qu’elle aimoit chere-
“ ment.”

This alludes to some admirer of that lady, who had been obliged to make way for Bothwell.

S. v. v. 4.

‘ Son doigt monstroit la tristesse du coeur,’ &c.

The translation has, ‘ Her *sadnes* schew
‘ the tristesse of hir hart.’ *Doigt* can never
mean

mean *sadnes*. A commentator might perhaps make sense of the passage ; but I will not be that commentator. It is probable that it means to allude to some matrimonial anecdote.

S. v. v. 9. 10.

“ De vostre mort je ne vis la paour,

“ Que meritoit tel Mary et Seigneur.”

This probably respects the wound which Bothwell received in Liddesdale about the end of October 1566*.

The same accident is alluded to S. ix. v. 5. 6. and S. xi. v. 11—14.

There is a most perplexed passage in the *ninth* sonnet. It runs thus in Mr Goodall's edition †:

“ Pour

* Keith, History of Scotland, p. 352.

† Examination, vol. 2, p. 51.

“ Pour luy auffi j’ay jetté mainte larme,
 “ *Premier qu’il fust de ce corps possesseur,*
 “ *Duquel alors il n’avoit pas le coeur.*
 “ Puis me donna un autre dur alarme,
 “ Quant il versa de son sang mainte dragme,
 “ Dont le grief me vint laisser douleur,” &c.

Anderfon * has printed the second line thus :

“ Premier qu’il se fist de ce corps possesseur.”

This reading is more agreeable to the Scottish translation than the other. ‘*First* when he made himself possessor of this body,’ is a just enough translation of Anderfon’s line, but not of Goodall’s.

If by *ce corps* the writer understood Mary herself, then the sense is, ‘that Bothwell possessed Mary before he had

* Collections, vol. ii. p. 120.

‘ had gained her heart.’ This is consistent enough with the charitable hypothesis, that Mary’s affection for Bothwell commenced after the violence at Dunbar : But it would be fatal to the hypothesis of her enemies, who assign an earlier date to that affection.

Were it not for the lines which follow, this passage would go far to prove, ‘ that the sonnets were not composed by ‘ the enemies of Mary.’ They would not forge a declaration destructive of their own hypothesis, as this passage certainly is, when considered by itself.

Here, however, lies the difficulty. If *ce corps* means Mary, then it is asserted, ‘ that before Bothwell was wounded, ‘ he was possessed of Mary, and *that* ‘ contrary to her inclinations.’

There

There can be no doubt that

“ Puis me donna un autre dur alarme

“ Quand il versa de son sang”---

relates to Bothwell's wound in Liddesdale; and that the event of the wound is mentioned as posterior to the other.

This also is inconsistent with every hypothesis concerning the Queen and Bothwell.

I therefore think that the passage has a very different, and very harmless sense; that it simply relates to Bothwell's marriage with Lady Jane Gordon.

Bothwell, it is known, professed a zealous fidelity to the Queen.—Perhaps the writer might mean to insinuate that the Queen felt displeasure at his alliance with the family of Huntly; a family, in those days, too powerful to be

be really loved by the Sovereign ; and
then the sense of the passage will be :

‘ On his account I shed many a tear ;

‘ *first*, when he was married to Lady

‘ Jane Gordon, whose affections he did

‘ not possess ; and *again*, when he was

‘ dangerously wounded in discharging

‘ his duty to me.’

The writer had said before, that
Bothwell did not, at the time of his
marriage, possess the affections of Lady
Jane Gordon. S. iv. v. 7. &c..

“ Par vous elle a eu plaisir et bon heur,

“ Et par vous a honneur et reverence,

“ *Et n’a perdu si non la jouissance*

“ *D’un fascheux sot qu’elle aimoit chèrement.*”

The sentiment in sonnet ix. may be still
more simply expressed thus : ‘ I lamented
‘ the fate of my faithful servant, who,
‘ though deserving of all love, was uni-
‘ ted

‘ted in marriage with a woman that
‘loved him not.’

I have reserved the vii. sonnet as the subject of my last observation on this curious and perplexed subject.

In it, Mary is supposed to say that Bothwell suspected her of some secret attachment to another.

v. 2. “ Vous doutez de ma ferme constance.”

v. 4. “ Et ne vous puis asseurer de ma foi.”

v. 5. “ Vous m’estimez legiere”---

v. 7. “ Et soupconnez mon coeur sans appa-
“ rence.”

v. 10. “ Vous soupconnez qu’autre amour
“ me transporte.”

How a forger should have introduced this sentiment into his fable, is unaccountable. It is not the sentiment which arises from the supposed nature of the connection between Mary and Bothwell, where every thing is represented as rank and flagitious.

Let

Let us see whether it will not suit better with my idea of the situation of Mary and Bothwell.

Ambition excited Bothwell to raise his thoughts to his Sovereign. Formidable obstacles opposed him ; yet a wicked relentless heart overthrew them all. By fraud and violence, by persevering assiduity, and every art of persuasion, he at last became possessed of Mary.

To suppose that he loved her, would be to profane the name of love. A man of his dissolute manners could have no taste for the delicacies essential to that passion.

Yet, in *his* circumstances, it was absolutely necessary that Mary should believe that he loved.—He could not detain her long in durance at Dunbar ; if

E e she

she had declared herself in favour of celibacy, if she had withdrawn her countenance, even for a moment, he was undone.

A profligate politician like Bothwell, in circumstances so critical, would be naturally led to profess the ardour of his affections by feigned jealousy.

Neither should I have been surprized, if he had industriously created suspicions of a returning fondness for his unhappy wife. *This* also would have been an artifice well suited to the character of Bothwell.

A young and beautiful Princess, educated, like a Princess, among selfish flatterers, deprived of faithful counsellors, might have fallen into this snare, altho' her understanding and her prudence had been as exquisite as her votaries represent them to have been.

Should

Should any of her votaries attempt
to confute my hypothesis, I only answer,

—Vicisti, et victum tendere palmas
Dardanidae videre, *tua est*—

The Marian controverfy has already
become too angry, and too voluminous.

CHAP.

C H A P. XII.

J A M E S VI. ordains a Person charged with an Offence not Capital, to be tried; and, if found guilty, to be executed.

A Learned and ingenious gentleman gave me an original warrant signed by James VI. which I here transcribe for its singularity.

‘ James, be the grace of God, King
 ‘ of Scottis, to all and findrie our lieges
 ‘ and subditis, quhomever it effeiris,
 ‘ [concerns,] to quhais knowlege thir
 ‘ our letters fall come, Greeting : For-
 ‘ famekle as, Mr Peter Narne haveing
 ‘ maist traterouslie devisit and conspyrit
 ‘ the

‘ the murther and distructioun of——
 ‘ ——Englishmen, and for executioun
 ‘ of his vyld and abhominable fact, have-
 ‘ ing trained thame within oure realme,
 ‘ promissing unto thame to gett thame
 ‘ advancen in credite and service with
 ‘ us, and haveing brocht thame to the
 ‘ towne of Kelso, he thair resolvit to
 ‘ have accomplishe his said vyld mur-
 ‘ ther, and being in the actual execu-
 ‘ tioun, he was, be the providence of
 ‘ God, stayed, the puir innocent stran-
 ‘ gearis relevit, and himself apprehendit,
 ‘ and is presentlie in handis : Quhilk
 ‘ vyld and detestable coyfinage and con-
 ‘ spiracie of an intendit and conspyrit
 ‘ murther, being of sa rare ane example
 ‘ and preparative, and carying with it
 ‘ sa foull ane sclander and reproche to
 ‘ our natioun, giff the same be not ac-
 ‘ cordinglie

‘ cordinglie tane order with and puni-
 ‘ sheit, and albeit thair be na law maide
 ‘ againe practizars and conspiratours of
 ‘ ane murther unexecute, and *that this*
 ‘ *fact naikedlie considerit, will not appeir*
 ‘ *punisheable to the death* ; yet we ha-
 ‘ veing regaird to the circumstanceis
 ‘ thair of, with the interest quhilk it ca-
 ‘ ryis to our service, and the sclander
 ‘ and reproche to our natioun, We
 ‘ have thairfoir, *of our awin absolute*
 ‘ *auctoritie and power, ordanit the said*
 ‘ *vylde and detestable conspiracie to be pu-*
 ‘ *nisheit to the death*, to the terror of all
 ‘ uthiris to interprise the lyke heireftir :
 ‘ For whilk purposis, we have maid and
 ‘ constitute, and, be the tenor hereof,
 ‘ makis and constitutis, our richt traist
 ‘ coufing and counfallor Robert Lord of
 ‘ Roxburgh our justice in that parte, to
 ‘ the

‘ the effect undirwrittin, Gevand, grant-
 ‘ and, and committand to him our full
 ‘ power and commissioun, expres bid-
 ‘ ding and charge, to try and examine
 ‘ the said Mr Petir upoun the forme,
 ‘ maner, and circumstanceis of the said
 ‘ conspiracie, and upoun sic vyld mur-
 ‘ ther, quhairof he is suspectt guilty ; and,
 ‘ giff neid beis, for the bettir discoverie
 ‘ of the treuth, *to put him to tortour ; as*
 ‘ alswa, to put him to the knowlege
 ‘ of ane affize for the same, and *giff*
 ‘ *he cry guilty of the said conspiracie and*
 ‘ *intendit murther committit be him, that*
 ‘ *he caus execute him to the deid for the*
 ‘ *same ;* and in special for the foull and
 ‘ treterous conspiracie foresaid, and for
 ‘ this effect justice courtis at quhatfom-
 ‘ evir placeis convenient to sett, be-
 ‘ gyn, affix, have, and continew, sunitis
 ‘ to

‘ to make be callit, abfentis to amer-
 ‘ ciat, unlaws and efcheitis of the faids
 ‘ courtis, to ask, lift, and raife, and for
 ‘ the fame, gyf neid beis, to poind and
 ‘ diftrenzie, affifers neidfull to this ef-
 ‘ fect *refpective*, undir the pane of forty
 ‘ pundis, to fummond, warne, cheis, and
 ‘ cauis to be fworne, clerkeis, ferjands,
 ‘ dempftair, and all uthir officiars of
 ‘ courte neidfull to make, creat, and
 ‘ ordane, for quhome he fal be haldin
 ‘ to anfwer ; and generallie, all and
 ‘ findrie uther thingis to do and ufe,
 ‘ quhilk for executioun of this our com-
 ‘ miffioun, ar requifite and neceffar,
 ‘ ferme and ftable halding, and for to
 ‘ hald, all and whatfumevir things in
 ‘ our name fall be done herein. Given
 ‘ undir our fignet, and fubfcrivit with
 ‘ our hand, at Brechin, the tent day of
 ‘ October,

‘ October, and of our reign the xxxv.

‘ and yeir, 1601.

JAMES R.’

Locus figilli.

It is probable that this commission was granted to Lord Roxburgh, because the conspiracy was to have been carried into execution in the Lordship of Kelso, belonging to that nobleman.

I am not certain whether the crime charged was an *intention* or an *attempt* to commit murder. I know not whether any trial ensued.

Perhaps the King meant no more by this commission, than to make a parade of his impartial and inexorable justice, and of his great affection to his future subjects of England. If such

F f

was

was his purpose, the alarming expression, ' *by our own absolute authority and power,*' might have been spared.

CHAP.

C H A P. XIII.

Secret Correspondence of JAMES VI.

FOR two years preceeding the death of Queen Elifabeth, a secret correspondence was carried on between James VI. and Sir Robert Cecil.

It was conducted on the part of Cecil by Lord Henry Howard, afterwards Earl of Northampton. The confidents employed by James VI. were the Earl of Marre, and Mr Edward Bruce of Kinlofs.

Notwithstanding the anxious and repeated injunctions of Cecil ‘ to destroy
‘ every

‘ every letter,’ great part of this correspondence has been preserved. Some of the original letters are in the Advocates Library at Edinburgh; others in the archives of the family of Marre. They were published under the title of, *The Secret Correspondence of Sir Robert Cecil with James VI. King of Scotland.* 12mo, 1766.

Of them an accomplished judge of men and books thus speaks : ‘ It is unlucky for the reader, that the letters from England are writ in a stile so hard, dark, and affected. King James sneers Lord Henry Howard as an *Asiatic writer*; but I can perceive neither Attic simplicity, nor Asiatic ornament. He past, however, for an able writer in the false taste of those times.’

‘ The

‘ The matter of the letters, as far as
 ‘ they can be understood, is curious.
 ‘ One sees *there* much intrigue without
 ‘ action ; and that the service which Sir
 ‘ Robert Cecil did to King James con-
 ‘ sisted in sitting still himself, and disa-
 ‘ bling and confounding the plots of o-
 ‘ thers ; by which means the succession
 ‘ took place without violence or disor-
 ‘ der.’ These are the words of C. Yorke!

—Flere et meminisse, relictum !

James had other correspondents in England unknown to Cecil, as much as Cecil’s negotiations were unknown to Elifabeth.

Who they were, will in all probability remain a secret.

In the Advocates Library, A. 1. 34. No. 43. there is preserved a letter from these secret partizans of the Scottish interest : It is of the following tenor :

‘ May

‘ May it please your Majesty, We
 ‘ whose cyphers are here underwritten,
 ‘ and three other, of extraordinary qua-
 ‘ lity and power to do your Majesty
 ‘ service, whom for that purpose we
 ‘ have associated unto us in this busi-
 ‘ ness, do most humbly and most ear-
 ‘ nestly beseech your Majesty to dispatch
 ‘ away your minister in all possible haste,
 ‘ for that her Majesty’s great danger is
 ‘ now too apparent, and too public,
 ‘ and for that discovery is lately made
 ‘ of a strong opposition intended against
 ‘ you by the Popish faction and their
 ‘ adherents, in the which business the
 ‘ foreign ambassadors are not idle.
 ‘ They are resolute in their purposes,
 ‘ and more diligent in their resolutions,
 ‘ than the better part can be, for want
 ‘ of correspondence and direction, stand-
 ‘ ing

' ing at a stay, in expectation of the co-
 ' ming of your Majesty's minister, whom
 ' we wish to come furnished, at least,
 ' with credence and power for the no-
 ' mination of such as you shall please to
 ' commit the managing of this impor-
 ' tant cause unto, and for the authori-
 ' zing of them to address commissions
 ' into all parts, and to all purposes, ne-
 ' cessary for your Majesty's service ;
 ' which may be by some general and
 ' brief commission under your Maje-
 ' sty's hand and seal, with a space, for
 ' such names as your pleasure shall be
 ' to have used in that service, whose fit-
 ' nefs will now be daily more and more
 ' discovered, as their love to your per-
 ' son shall concur with their sufficiency
 ' and with their graciousness with the
 ' people ; a matter greatly to be respect-
 ' ed.

' ed. And although the minister cannot
 ' be so thoroughly furnished in this so
 ' urgent and necessary great haste, yet
 ' let his furniture be dispatched rather
 ' after him, than that his presence here
 ' should be delayed, whereupon so
 ' much dependeth : And of this your
 ' Majesty may be assured, that your
 ' friends have made your party so strong;
 ' that, without some fatal disaster, it can-
 ' not be overthrown; and those that
 ' stand for you are resolute not to have
 ' any being in this world, except they
 ' may be yours, as in right they ought
 ' to be. And this we most humbly be-
 ' seech, that your Majesty will not take
 ' any sudden alarm at this business,
 ' until you be certainly advertised how
 ' God hath disposed of the Queen ; but
 ' according unto your accustomed wis-
 ' dom,

‘ dom, to carry your business in such co-
 ‘ vert and peaceable manner, as that no
 ‘ sudden terror be apprehended in our
 ‘ nation, which might cause some evil
 ‘ effect, always wishing your Highness
 ‘ to be in perfect readiness, but without
 ‘ any apparent shew thereof, till the
 ‘ time do call for it. 10 of March at
 ‘ xi of the clock.’

To this letter some cyphers are sub-
 joined. Among them there is a ©.
 Dr Robertson, *History of Scotland*, ap-
 pendix, p. 116. has published a letter,
 with the signature ©, as addressed by
 Cecil to King James. The © here,
 and the © in the letter published by
 Dr Robertson, are evidently written by
 the same hand. It is certain that the
 signature is not that of Cecil. 1. The
 writer of the letter published by Dr Ro-

G g

bertson

bertson speaks of the thought of his heart being ‘ only known to the worthy nobleman, bearer hereof.’ 2. He speaks of Mr David Foulis being his first correspondent. 3. He desires some token of the King’s favour, that he may understand in what terms his fidelity, secrecy, and service, are regarded. 4. He desires the King to have a resident continually at London. 5. He says, ‘ he will hold himself reserved from being known unto any of the King’s faithful confidents, only this extraordinary good man, whose associate I am in his misfortunes, doth know my heart.’ All this is absolutely inconsistent with the tenor of Cecil’s real correspondence with King James. 6. He proposes the abolishing of the court of wards, as ‘ being the
‘ ruin

‘ruin of the noble and ancient families
 ‘of this realm, by base matches, and
 ‘evil education of their children.’ Cecil was master of the court of wards, *Winwood*, vol. 1. p. 41. It is most improbable that he would have complained of the grievances of that court, or would have proposed so disinterested a remedy as its abolition.

CHAP.

C H A P. XIV.

ASSEMBLY of DIVINES at Westminster.

A Dispassionate and impartial history of the assembly of Divines at Westminster would be a work curious and useful : It is probable, however, that we shall never see such a work ; for the writer must be one who neither hates, nor contemns, nor admires that assembly.

There is extant * a journal of the assembly of divines, drawn up by Mr George

* Wodrow, MSS. 8vo, vol. 5. No. 1. The Reverend Mr Wodrow minister at Torbolton

George Gillespie †, one of the Scottish commissioners. It begins 2d February 1644-5, and proceeds to 14th May 1645. There is then a blank. It

recom-

ton has always afforded me access to the MSS. collections made by his father, with that hearty good will which obliges most, by not seeming to oblige.

† The English called him *Galleſp*. See *Milton*, sonnet xi. He is *there* joined with *Colkitto* and *M'Donel*. [the same person]. And hence it has been supposed in England, that Sir Alexander M'Donel, called *Colkitto*, the leader of Montrose's Irishmen, was a presbyterian teacher.

It appears from Mr Gillespie's journal, that, for some time, Mr Selden took a considerable share in the debates. I find no mention of him after the 22d March. Hence, I presume, that he had quitted the assembly of

recommences 4th September 1645,
and proceeds to 25th October 1645.

Upon the news of Essex's disaster
in the West, and of Montrose's rapid
success in Scotland, the assembly re-
solved to hold a fast.

Accordingly, ' 10th September, re-
' port was made from the committee

' of

of divines at that period, either from dis-
gust, or bad health. The notes from his
arguments, shew that he was not an indif-
ferent auditor. His arguments are learned,
but fanciful. They will hardly authorise
the eulogy of Cleveland,

" And Selden is a galliard by himself,

" And well might be; there's more divines

" in him

" Than in all this their Jewish Sanhedrim."

It is probable that Cleveland had never
heard of Lightfoot, no less a member of
this Sanhedrim than Selden.

‘ of the causes of humiliation, wherein,
 ‘ *first*, they make a preface upon occa-
 ‘ sion of the breach in the West ; then
 ‘ they draw up the causes in four
 ‘ kinds.

‘ I. *The sins of the assembly in nine*
 ‘ *points.* 1. Neglecting attendance in
 ‘ the assembly, though the affairs be so
 ‘ important ; late coming. 2. Absence
 ‘ from the prayers. 3. Reading and
 ‘ talking in time of debates. 4. Neglect
 ‘ of committees. 5. Some speak too
 ‘ much, others too little. 6. Indecent
 ‘ behaviour. 7. Unseemly language
 ‘ and heats upon it. 8. Neglect of
 ‘ trying ministers. 9. Members of the
 ‘ assembly drawing on parties, or being
 ‘ frightened with needless jealousies.’

Had Lord Clarendon known of this
 candid representation of things by ho-
 nest

nest Mr George Gillespie, he would probably have softened the asperity of his censures on the Westminster assembly.

What follows is still more curious :
 ‘ Mr Henderson wished that the causes
 ‘ of the assembly’s humiliation might
 ‘ be rather taken from the former cor-
 ‘ ruptions in this church, and their own
 ‘ guiltiness therein, than to lay open
 ‘ their secret disorders now ; the other
 ‘ was known and public, but secret
 ‘ faults are to be secretly confessed.’

The most subtle politician of the Hierarchy could not have spoken with more judgement.

C H A P.

C H A P. XV.

Of the Earl of GLENCAIRNE'S
INSURRECTION in 1653 and
1654.

AFTER the English had, to all appearance, subdued Scotland, a new and formidable enemy arose in *the Earl of Glencairne*.

There is extant a narrative of his expedition into the Highlands of Scotland, drawn up by one of his attendants *. There are some curious passages

* In the possession of the Earl of Glencairne. John Graham of Deuchrie is reputed to be the author.

fages in this narrative, which may entertain the reader.

‘ The Earl of Glencairne left his house of Finlayston in the beginning of the month of August 1653, and went to Lochern, where several of the chiefs of the clans met him, viz. the Earl of Athole, the laird of Glengary, Cameron of Lochiel, ordinarily called M’Ildeny, John Graham of Deuchrie, Donald M’Grigor tutor of M’Grigor, the laird of Inverey, Robertson of Strowan, the laird of M’Naughton, the Lord of Lorne, and Colonel Blackader of Tulliallan.

——‘ Lord Lorne had got together 1000 foot and 50 horse, who joined us at Badenoch ; but Lorne, being discontented, in a fortnight’s time, marched
away

away with his forces, on the first day of January 1654.

‘ Our Lord General having intelligence of this in the night time, sent the laird of Glengary and Lochiel, with as many horse as could be got ready in time, to pursue him and bring him back with his forces, or otherwise fight him. Lorne marched straight for the castle of Ruthven of Badenoch, a house belonging to Huntly, wherein there was an English garrison. Glengary being eager in the pursuit, overtook him before he got within a mile of the castle. Lord Lorne, seeing this, slipped off with what horse he had, and left the foot to Glengary’s mercy. He presently commanded a party of horse to follow Lorne, who could not overtake him, but brought back about 20 of his horsemen.

‘ Lord

‘ Lord Lorne’s foot being drawn up on a hill, did beat a parly, and offered to return to his Majesty’s service under the General.

‘ Glengary, not satisfied with this, was going immediately to fall upon them ; for he had an old grudge against them, since the great Montrose’s war ; but, our Lord General coming up, and hearing of what they had offered, ordered one to tell them, that he would not treat with them till they had laid down their arms, which immediately they did.

‘ The General and several of the officers then went to them, and they all declared they were willing to re-enter his Majesty’s service, and would not again desert. On this the General caused both officers and soldiers of them to
take

take an oath, which they did very freely; but, in less than a fortnight, not one of them was to be seen in our army. And we saw not Lord Lorne, nor any of his men, since that time.

——‘ The General having received intelligence from Lord Middleton, of his arrival in Sutherland, with several other officers from his Majesty, viz. Major General Monro as his lieutenant-general, Dalzeill as major-general of horse and foot, Drummond as major-general of foot, Lord Napier as colonel of a regiment, &c. he ordered his army immediately to march for Sutherland.

——‘ The General then set out for Dornock [in Sutherland], to receive Lord Middleton’s commands, who was now captain-general, and, after some days

days spent with him, Middleton ordered that there might be a general rendezvous of the whole army, that he might examine how the men were armed, and know with certainty what he had to depend upon.

‘ They were mustered, accordingly, about the middle of March, [1654], and their number consisted of 3500 foot, and 1500 horse, 300 of which were not well mounted or armed.

‘ The army being drawn out in order, Lord Glencairne went through every regiment of horse and foot, and informed them all, that he had now no longer any other command than as a private colonel, and that he hoped they should now be very happy in having so brave a nobleman for their commander as
Lord

Lord Middleton*, and so many brave officers as he had under him ; and so wished them all well. Those who were present could easily perceive how dissatisfied the soldiers were by their countenances ; and many, both of officers and soldiers, could not refrain from tears, protesting that they could have wished to have spent their lives and all under his command.

‘ After this ceremony, the General, Middleton, did entertain them all in their quarters ; the Lord Glencairn invited him and the general officers and colonels to dine with him at Kettle, a house

* It is said that he rose by his courage from the rank of a pikeman in Hepburn’s regiment in the French service. I do not mean by this to question his birth as a gentleman.

house four miles south from Dornock, the head-quarters. His Lordship gave them as good cheer as the country could afford, and made them very merry. After dinner, he called for a glass of wine, and expressed himself to this purpose to the General : ‘ You see, my Lord, ‘ what a gallant army I and these noble- ‘ men with me have raised out of no- ‘ thing ; they have hazarded lives and ‘ fortunes to serve his Majesty ; your ‘ Excellency ought therefore to give ‘ them all the encouragement you can.’ Immediately Sir George Monro started from his seat, and, interrupting Lord Glencairne, said, ‘ By G—, the men ‘ you speak of are no other than a pack ‘ of thieves and robbers ; in a short time ‘ I will show you other sort of men.’ Glengary started up, *thinking himself*
most

most concerned; but Lord Glencairne
 stopt him, and said, ‘ Forbear Glengary,
 ‘ ’tis I that am levelled at,’ and direct-
 ing himself to Monro, told him ‘ he
 ‘ was a base liar; for they were neither
 ‘ thieves nor rogues, but much better
 ‘ than any he could raise.’ General
 Middleton commanded both of them to
 keep the peace, and addressing them,
 said, ‘ My Lord, and you Sir George,
 ‘ this is not the way to do the King ser-
 ‘ vice, to fall out among yourselves;
 ‘ therefore I will have you both to be
 ‘ friends;’ and, calling for wine, said,
 ‘ My Lord Glencairne, I think you did
 ‘ the greatest wrong, in calling Sir
 ‘ George a liar; you shall drink to him,
 ‘ and he shall pledge you;’ which the
 noble and good Lord did, without a-
 ny hesitation. Sir George, after his old

haughty humour, muttered some words, which were not heard, and neither pledged him nor drank to him.'

The consequence of Sir George Monro's imprudence was, that, according to the rules of honour, he was under the necessity of challenging Lord Glencairne for having called him *liar*.

' They were both well mounted on horseback : Each of them were to have one pistol ; after discharging of which, they were to fight with broad swords. The pistols were fired without doing hurt ; they then engaged with their swords, and, after a few passes, my Lord had the good fortune to give Sir George a fore stroke on his bridle-hand ; whereupon Sir George cried out, that he was not able to command his horse, and ' I hope,' says he, ' you will fight
' me

‘ me on foot.’ ‘ Ye carle,’ says the Lord, ‘ I will let you know that I am
 ‘ a match for you, either on foot, or
 ‘ horseback ;’ whereupon they both alighted, and, at the first bout, my Lord gave him a fore stroke on the brow, about an inch above his eyes, which bled so much that he could not see. His Lordship was going to thrust him thro’ the body, but John White his man pushed up his sword and said, ‘ you have
 ‘ enough of him my Lord.’ His Lordship, in passion, gave John White a stroke over the shoulders, and then took his horse, and came to his quarters.’

As soon as the general heard of this combat, he put Lord Glencairne under arrest. But new matters of quarrel ensued ; and, as the narrative bears, ‘ Sir George carried so high, that no reconciliationment

cilement was to be had betwixt my Lord and him ; so his Lordship, on that day fortnight after the duel was fought, set out for the south. He took no more but his own troop with him, and some gentlemen volunteers that were waiting for command, in all about 100 horse. We marched straight for the laird of Affynt's bounds. The General having notice of his Lordship's departure, sent a strong party to bring him back, or otherwise to fight him. His Lordship having arrived in safety at the laird of Affynt's, he offered his services, and to secure the passes, so that the whole army, though they were pursuing, should not be able to come near him that night. My Lord was obliged to accept of this favour, though this gentleman was said to be the person who betrayed the great Montrose ;

Montrose ; yet, others affirm it was his father-in-law, he being very young at the time.'

The fate of Middleton's army was such as might have been expected from the want of subordination and harmony which prevailed in it. Five thousand men, possessed of the fastnesses of the Highlands of Scotland, might have maintained a long and honourable, if not a successful war ; yet they melted away before the enemy.

CHAP.

C H A P. XVI.

EUPHAN M'CULLAN.

IN *the memorials of Mr John Living-*
ston there is a singular relation con-
 cerning one Euphan M'Cullan. It runs
 thus :

‘ Euphan M'Cullan in the parish of
 ‘ Kinneucher, [Kilconquhar in Fife], a
 ‘ poor woman, but rich in faith. I have
 ‘ heard the Lady Culrofs tell these things
 ‘ of her following :

‘ That *she seldom ever prayed but she*
 ‘ *got a positive answer.* That one time
 ‘ the Lady Culrofs desired her to pray
 ‘ for her, in regard of the outward con-
 ‘ dition of her family, and when she
 ‘ required what answer she had got,
 ‘ Euphan said, the answer was, *he that*
 ‘ *pro-*

‘ *provides not for his own house, hath de-*
 ‘ *nied the faith* ; whereat the lady said,
 ‘ Now you have killed me ; for I go to
 ‘ preachings and communions here and
 ‘ there, neglecting the case of my fami-
 ‘ ly. Effy replies, Mrs, if you be guilty
 ‘ in that sort, you have reason to be
 ‘ humbled for it ; but *it was not said in*
 ‘ *that sense to me, but the Lord said, He*
 ‘ that provides not for his own is worse
 ‘ than an infidel : Will not I provide for
 ‘ her and her house, seeing she is mine ?

‘ She told the Lady Culrofs, that,
 ‘ when the minister of the parish, Mr
 ‘ John Carmichael, was deadly sick, she
 ‘ prayed, and *got an answer*, that for a
 ‘ year’s time he should be spared ; and
 ‘ after the year’s end he fell sick again.
 ‘ I went, said she, to pray yet again for
 ‘ his life ; but *the Lord left me not an*
 ‘ *mouse’s*

‘ *mouse’s likeness* *, and said, Beast that
 ‘ thou art ! shall I keep my servant in
 ‘ pain for thy sake ? And when I said,
 ‘ Lord, what then shall I do ? he answer-
 ‘ ed me, *he was but a reed that I spoke*
 ‘ *through, and I will provide another*
 ‘ *reed to speak through.* And thereafter,
 ‘ when we got Mr Henry Rollock for our
 ‘ minister, who was far short of Mr John
 ‘ Carmichael, I went with a new com-
 ‘ plaint to the Lord, that I could not
 ‘ profit by him as I had done before ;
 ‘ and the *answer* I got was, *thou must*
 ‘ *take the letter out of the lad’s hand, for*
 ‘ *the word is mine.*’

These passages afford matter of very
 serious reflection. The irreverent fami-
 liarity

* A proverbial expression among the vulgar
 in Scotland, meaning ‘ to reprove with such
 ‘ severity, that the person reprovèd shrinks,
 ‘ and becomes abashed.’

liarity in the address to the great God, who humbleth himself to behold the things that are in the heavens, is indeed horrible.—What is there here, but the dregs of Popish credulity? How can Protestants object to the visions of Saint Brigit, St Clara, and St Theresa, and yet justify the visions of Euphan M'Cullan?

Let us calmly examine the revelations of Euphan M'Cullan. It is plain that Lady Culrofs and Mr John Livingston entertained an high idea of her spiritual attainments, and stedfastly believed whatever she reported of her intercourse with the Divinity. Now, what judgement are we to form of the theological proficiency of Lady Culrofs and Mr John Livingston, who supposed that they

heard

heard the divine Spirit in the wild reports of Euphan M'Cullan?

Nothing can be plainer than that the poor woman reported her fancies as praeternatural revelations. She puts a mystical sense upon a precept of St Paul, appropriated to life and manners, and then draws an extravagant inference from it.

Every intelligent person will perceive how strange the argument is which she supposes to have proceeded from the Divinity, and how strangely it is enforced.

She was told ' that Mr John Carmichael was but a reed through which the Divinity spoke.' I suppose that no sober Protestant will admit the authority of such a revelation, which at once annihilates the authority of scripture,

ture, and all the rights of private judgement.

If Mr John Carmichael was ‘ a reed
‘ through which the Divinity spoke,’
then had the parish of Kinneucher a visible and infallible judge of controversy ;
to them the precept ‘ Search the scriptures,’ would have been superfluous.

Although *another reed* was provided, she takes upon her to object that ‘ that
‘ reed *was far short of the other;*’ and then, to solve this petulant objection, she is favoured with a more ambiguous, confirming a more clear revelation.

Had there been any sober minister at hand to check the first effusions of Euphan’s imagination ; had he told her that her notions were unscriptural, her language irreverent, her comments upon
scripture

scripture absurd, and the inferences from her revelations highly favourable to the cause of popery, I doubt not but that the good woman would have laid her mouth in the dust, and been silent.

But, alas, *who* was there to give such serious exhortations, when Mr John Livingston himself thus speaks, ‘ After
‘ prayer, I am to look back and *recapi-*
‘ *tulate what petitions God hath put in*
‘ *my mouth, and these I am to account as*
‘ *blessings promised, and to look for the*
‘ *performance? **’

And again, ‘ A soul that loves Christ
‘ will be *homelier* with him than with
‘ any else; so that it will speak to him
‘ that which, if it were said to any o-
‘ ther,

* *Wodrow*, MSS. 4to, vol. 75. No. 4.

‘ ther, they might perhaps accuse as trea-
 ‘ fon.’

I always imagined that the love of man to Christ increased with the knowledge of the nature and offices of Christ, and that this knowledge produced increase of reverence ; but it seems that such knowledge produces *vulgar* or *low familiarity*, for such is the meaning of the Scottish word *homely*.

I wish I may be told, ‘ that every
 ‘ Protestant condemns all pretences to
 ‘ personal inspiration as vain and super-
 ‘ stitious fancies, and all familiar lan-
 ‘ guage in man’s approaches to his God
 ‘ and Redeemer, as irreverent and pre-
 ‘ sumptuous ; and therefore, in combat-
 ‘ ing such pretences, that I combat a
 ‘ shadow, and in censuring such language,
 ‘ that

‘ that I censure what no one undertakes
 ‘ to justify.’

But I fear that I shall be told, ‘ that
 ‘ the persons, of whose visions I have
 ‘ given this short but sad specimen,
 ‘ were eminently pious, and that to con-
 ‘ tend that they were enthusiasts, is to
 ‘ contend that all religion is enthusiasm.’

I trust that they were pious, because
 sincere. Yet I must lament that sincere
 persons were so weak in judgement,
 and so ignorant of the oeconomy of the
 gospel. Still more deeply must I lament,
 that their weakness and ignorance should
 be urged as an argument against religion
 on the one side, or interwoven with the
 defence of religion on the other.

We do not dread the malice of our
 enemies ; but, humanly speaking, we
 dread the folly of our friends.

The

The truth is, that there was a time when all the suggestions of prejudice, or passion, or imbecility of mind, which presented themselves in the season of devotion, were held to be *answers from the Lord*.

There is a dreadful example of this in *the narrative of William Russel*, one of the murderers of Archbishop Sharp *.

‘ John Balfour said, he was sure they
 ‘ had something to do, for he, intending
 ‘ towards the Highlands because of the
 ‘ violent rage in Fife, was *pressed in*
 ‘ *spirit* to return ; and he *inquiring the*
 ‘ *Lord’s mind* anent [concerning] it,
 ‘ got that word born in upon him, *Go*
 ‘ *and prosper* : So he coming from
 ‘ prayer, wondering what it could mean,
 ‘ went

* *Wodrow*, MSS. 12mo, vol. 29. No. 16.

‘ went again, and *got it confirmed* by that
 ‘ scripture, *Go, have not I sent you?*
 ‘ Whereupon he durst no more question,
 ‘ but presently returned.

‘ James Ruffel said, *it had been born*
 ‘ *in upon his mind*, some days before,
 ‘ *in prayer, having more than ordinary*
 ‘ *outlettings of the Spirit for a fortnight*
 ‘ *together*, at Lesley, and told to several
 ‘ of his intimates, that *he had met with*
 ‘ *several scriptures, and that it was born*
 ‘ *in upon him*, that the Lord would
 ‘ employ him in some piece of service
 ‘ or it was long ; and that there would
 ‘ be some great man who was an enemy
 ‘ to the kirk of God cut off.’

After perpetrating the foul deed, they
 all retired to separate prayer ; and ‘ Wil-
 ‘ liam Daniel, after prayer, *told them*
 ‘ *all that the Lord had said to him, Well*
 ‘ *done good and faithful servants.*’

CHAP.

C H A P. XVII.

Of MAJOR WEIR and MR GABRIEL PENMAN.

WITCHCRAFT was supposed to prevail in Scotland after the restoration of Charles II. Of this assertion many proofs might be given. I shall, however, limit myself to two examples, one of a Presbyterian forcerer, whose history is recorded by an author of the Episcopal persuasion; another, of a forcerer of the Episcopal persuasion, whose history is recorded by a Presbyterian author.

‘ I. When Major Weir and his sister
 ‘ were seized, she desired the guards to
 L I ‘ keep

‘ keep him from laying hold of a certain
 ‘ staff, which, she said, if he chanced to
 ‘ get into his hands, he would certainly
 ‘ drive them all out of doors, notwith-
 ‘ standing all the resistance they could
 ‘ make. This magical staff was all of
 ‘ one piece, with a crooked head of
 ‘ thorn wood. She said he received it
 ‘ of the devil, and did many wonderful
 ‘ things with it ; particularly, that he used
 ‘ to lean upon it in his hypocritical pray-
 ‘ ers ; and, after they were committed,
 ‘ she still desired it might be kept from
 ‘ him, because, if he were once master
 ‘ of it again, he would certainly grow
 ‘ obdurate, and retract the confession
 ‘ which he had so publicly made.’

The author adds, ‘ Apollonius Tya-
 ‘ neus *had such a magical staff as this,*
 ‘ *which I believe was a sacramental sym-*
 ‘ *bol*

‘ *bol which the devil gave to the Major;*
 ‘ *and the court had some such apprehen-*
 ‘ *sion of it, for it was ordered by the*
 ‘ *judges to be burnt with his body.*’

‘ Jean Weir also confessed in prison,
 ‘ that she and her brother had made a
 ‘ compact with the devil; and that, on
 ‘ the 7th September 1648, they were
 ‘ both transported from Edinburgh to
 ‘ Musselburgh and back again, in a
 ‘ coach and six horses, which seemed all
 ‘ of fire; and that the devil then told
 ‘ the Major of the defeat of our army
 ‘ at Preston in England.’

This, by the way, proves that the
 English parliament had more early in-
 telligence of public occurrences than
 the devil himself had. The accounts
 of the action at Preston reached the par-
 liament

liament on the 23d of August *; whereas the devil related this event, by way of news, on the 7th of September.

‘ As for herself, she said, she never
 ‘ received any other benefit by her commerce with the devil, than a constant
 ‘ supply of an extraordinary quantity of
 ‘ yarn, which she was sure, she said, to
 ‘ find ready for her upon her spindle,
 ‘ whatever business she had been about.’

‘ Major Weir confessed——that his
 ‘ fluency in prayer, by which he ravished
 ‘ the people, proceeded from the assistance
 ‘ of the devil, who, he said, helped
 ‘ him to the words and phrases in which
 ‘ he expressed himself. This hath given
 ‘ several men several ways of conjecture

* *Whitlock, Memorials, p. 326.*

‘ jecture how it could be done. Some
 ‘ are of opinion that he was the praying
 ‘ oracle of the devil, out of which he
 ‘ personally spoke. Others think it rea-
 ‘ sonable to believe, that he saw all the
 ‘ words and expressions in his prayer
 ‘ successively written by the devil in the
 ‘ air. But, upon inquiry, I find that
 ‘ he, like most of the extemporarians,
 ‘ commonly prayed with his eyes shut,
 ‘ which, if it be true, this hypothesis
 ‘ will never be able to solve those dia-
 ‘ bolical phaenomena in the air. Some
 ‘ again think, that the words and ex-
 ‘ pressions of his prayer were represent-
 ‘ ed by the devil upon the stage of his
 ‘ fancy, after the same manner as when
 ‘ a man dreams he reads such a letter
 ‘ or book. Others think it very agree-
 ‘ able to Divinity to assert, that he was
 ‘ imme-

‘ immediately, but yet without much violence, inspired by the devil, and helped by him both in the conception and utterance of his prayers.’

The author concludes with observing, that he would not have credited those wonderful stories, had not Major Weir himself affirmed them to be true. *Narrative of the trial of Mr James Mitchel, &c.* 4to, 1679, p. 55. et seq.

I suppose that the devil, who inspired the Major to say his prayers, also inspired him to make this confession, credible only, according to my author, because the Major himself made it.

The trial of Major Weir and his sister are to be found in the records of the court of justiciary April 1670.

Thomas Weir, indicted as guilty of incest, adultery, and bestiality—found guilty

guilty of the indictment; also, by the great liberality of the jury, found guilty of *fornication*, although that offence was not charged.

Jean Weir, indicted as guilty of incest and witchcraft—found guilty of incest. But the verdict is silent as to witchcraft.

Of the evidence on which those wretched creatures were condemned to die, I say nothing.

Certain, however, it is, that Major Weir was neither accused, nor found guilty of witchcraft; and that his sister, although accused, was not found guilty of witchcraft.

The judgement of the court was adapted to the verdict, finding incest and bestiality; It says nothing of witchcraft, or of the walking-stick of conjuration.

II. Let

II. Let us now hear a tale, no less wonderful, related by the other party :
 ‘ Mr Gideon Penman, *curate at Crichton*, was well known to be a witch.
 ‘ Divers eye-witnesses deponed they had
 ‘ many times seen him at the witches
 ‘ meetings : That the devil called him
 ‘ ordinarily, *Penman my Chaplain*. Also,
 ‘ upon a time, when Satan administred
 ‘ his communion to his congregation,
 ‘ Penman *sat* next the devil’s elbow,
 ‘ and then, *when the deacon had served*
 ‘ *the table with wafers in the Popish fashion*, when there remained two wafers
 ‘ more than served the company, the
 ‘ deacon laid down his two wafers before the devil, which two the devil
 ‘ gave to Penman, and bade him go
 ‘ carry them to the Papists in Winton.’
History of Scotland, by Mr James Kirkton.

ton, *Wodrow's MSS. Collections*, 8vo, vol. 5. No. 2.

In this attack on the *Curate*, there is a fide blow at the *Papists*. It happened unluckily that those very credible eye-witnesses knew nothing of the rites of the church of Rome.

This Penman had been deprived of his benefice for lewdness and other immoralities *.

It is rash to censure a society for the offences of individuals who are of that society; but, to censure it for the offences of one who had been cast out, is uncandid and unjust.

* *Fountainhall's decisions*, vol. I. p. 14.

C H A P. XVIII.

L O R D D U N D E E.

I Communicated to Sir John Dalrymple a letter from Lord Strathnaver to Lord Dundee, and Lord Dundee's answer. He has published them in his history, vol. II. appendix, part 2. p. 17. 18.

My intention was to shew ‘ that terms
 ‘ had been offered to Lord Dundee;
 ‘ and consequently, that the popular o-
 ‘ pinion of his having been urged to
 ‘ despair by the inexorable severity of
 ‘ King William’s ministry, was erro-
 ‘ neous.’

The

The truth is, that the letters themselves will scarcely prove my proposition. That Lord Strathnaver, heartily engaged on the side of the revolution, should have *advised* his brother-in law * *Lord Dundee to make his peace*, is a circumstance equally natural and uninteresting.

Either Sir John or I overlooked the only material circumstance: It is contained in a certificate written by Sir Thomas Livingston, commander in chief of King William's forces in the north of Scotland.

‘ Inverness, 3d of July 1689.

‘ The contents of this letter were written
‘ ten

* They married two sisters of the Dundonald family.

‘ *ten by my Lord Strathnaver, upon my
‘ desire, and by my orders.*

‘ *T. Livingston.*’

‘ This is the double of a letter to
‘ the Viscount of Dundee, written by
‘ my desire, the 3d of July 1689.

‘ *T. Livingston.*’

The form of this writing shews that the certificate printed in Italics was subjoined to the original letter; and consequently was communicated to Lord Dundee.

If Lord Dundee imagined the state of public affairs to be as represented in his letter, we must lament the fate of a brave man, deluded by false intelligence: If he did not, we must acknowledge that his letter, however *spirited,*

rited, is rather the letter of a politician than of a friend.

He fell at Killicrankie 27th July 1689, twelve days after the overture for a treaty was rejected. With him died all the spirit and genius of his party.

CHAP.

C H A P. XIX.

Death of DAVID Prince of Scotland.

THE following curious instrument was communicated to me by Thomas Astle, Esq; a gentleman to whom the lovers of British history owe great obligations, and will, I hope, owe greater. It came too late to be inserted in its proper place, at p. 121.

‘ Robertus, Dei gratiâ, Rex Scotto-
 ‘ rum, Universis, ad quorum notitiam
 ‘ praesentes literae pervenerint, Salutem
 ‘ in Domino sempiternam : Cum nu-
 ‘ per carissimi nobis, Robertus Albaniae
 ‘ Dux, Comes de Fife et de Menteth,
 ‘ frater

‘ frater noster germanus, et Archibal-
 ‘ dus Comes de Douglas, et Dominus
 ‘ Galwidiae, filius noster secundum le-
 ‘ gem, ratione filiae nostrae quam duxit
 ‘ in uxorem, praecarissimum filium
 ‘ nostrum primogenitum David, quon-
 ‘ dam Ducem Rothsaye ac Comitem de
 ‘ Carrick et Atholiae, capi fecerunt, et
 ‘ personaliter arrestari, et in castro Sanc-
 ‘ ti Andreae primo custodiri, deindeque
 ‘ apud Faucland in custodia detineri,
 ‘ ubi ab hac luce, divinâ providentiâ,
 ‘ et non aliter, migrasse dignoscitur.
 ‘ Quibus comparentibus coram nobis,
 ‘ in concilio nostro generali apud Edin-
 ‘ burgh, decimo sexto die mensis Maii,
 ‘ anno Domini millesimo quadringente-
 ‘ fimo secundo, inchoato, et nonnullis
 ‘ diebus continuato, et super hoc inter-
 ‘ rogatis ex officio nostro regali, sive
 ‘ accusatis,

‘ accusatis, hujusmodi captionem, arres-
 ‘ tationem, mortem, ut superius est
 ‘ expressum, confitentes, causas ipsos
 ‘ ad hoc moventes, pro publica, ut asse-
 ‘ ruerunt, utilitate arctantes, in prae-
 ‘ sentia nostra assignârunt, quas non
 ‘ duximus praesentibus inferendas, et
 ‘ ex causa : Habitâ deinde super hoc
 ‘ diligenti inquisitione, consideratis om-
 ‘ nibus et singulis in hac parte confi-
 ‘ derandis, hujusmodi causam tangenti-
 ‘ bus, et maturâ deliberatione concilii
 ‘ nostri praehabitâ discussis, praenota-
 ‘ tos Robertum fratrem nostrum ger-
 ‘ manum, Archibaldumque filium no-
 ‘ strum secundum jura, et eorum in hac
 ‘ parte participes quoscunque, viz. ar-
 ‘ restatores, detentores, custodes, con-
 ‘ siliarios, et omnes alios consilium, vi-
 ‘ delicet, auxilium, vel favorem eisdem
 ‘ praestantes,

‘ praestantes, five eorum jussu aut man-
 ‘ datum qualitercunque exsequentes,
 ‘ excusatos habemus ; necnon et ipsos,
 ‘ et eorum quemlibet, a crimine laesae
 ‘ majestatis nostrae, vel alio quocunque
 ‘ crimine, culpa, injuria, rancore, et
 ‘ offensa, quae eis occasione praemisso-
 ‘ rum imputari possent qualitercunque,
 ‘ in dicto consilio nostro palam et publi-
 ‘ cè declaravimus, pronuntiavimus, et
 ‘ diffinivimus, tenoreque praesentium
 ‘ declaramus, pronunciamus, et per hanc
 ‘ diffinitivam nostram sententiam diffini-
 ‘ mus, innocentes, innoxios, inculpabi-
 ‘ les, quietos, liberos, et immunes, pe-
 ‘ nitus et omnimodo : Et si quam contra
 ‘ ipsos, five eorum aliquem, aut aliquam
 ‘ vel aliquos, in hoc facto qualiter-
 ‘ cunque participes, vel eis quomodoli-
 ‘ bet adhaerentes, indignationem, iram,
 N n ‘ rancorem,

‘ rancorem, vel offensionem, concepimus qualitercunque, illos proprio motu, ex certa scientia, et etiam ex deliberatione concilii nostri jam dicti, annullamus, removemus, et adnullatos volumus haberi, in perpetuum. Quare omnibus et singulis subditis nostris, cujuscunque statûs aut conditionis exstiterint, districtè præcipimus et mandamus, quatenus sæpe dictis Roberto et Archibaldo, eorumque in hoc facto participibus, consentientibus, seu adhaerentibus, ut præmittitur, verbo non detrahent, neque facto, nec contra eosdem murmurent qualitercunque, unde possit eorum bona fama laedi, vel aliquod præjudicium generari, sub omni poena quae exinde competere poterit, quomodolibet ipso jure. Datum, sub testimonio magni sigilli nostri,

‘stri, in monasterio Sanctae Crucis de
‘Edinburgh, vicesimo die mensis Maii
‘praedicti, anno Domini millesimo
‘quadringentesimo secundo, et regni
‘nostri anno tertio decimo.’

From this instrument the following circumstances may be collected.

1. The death of David Prince of Scotland occasioned a parliamentary inquiry.

2. His uncle, Robert Duke of Albany, and his brother-in-law, Archibald Earl of Douglas, were, at least, suspected of having confined him, and put him to death.

3. The result of the inquiry was, that the Duke of Albany and the Earl of Douglas avowed that they had confined him, and justified their conduct from motives of public utility.

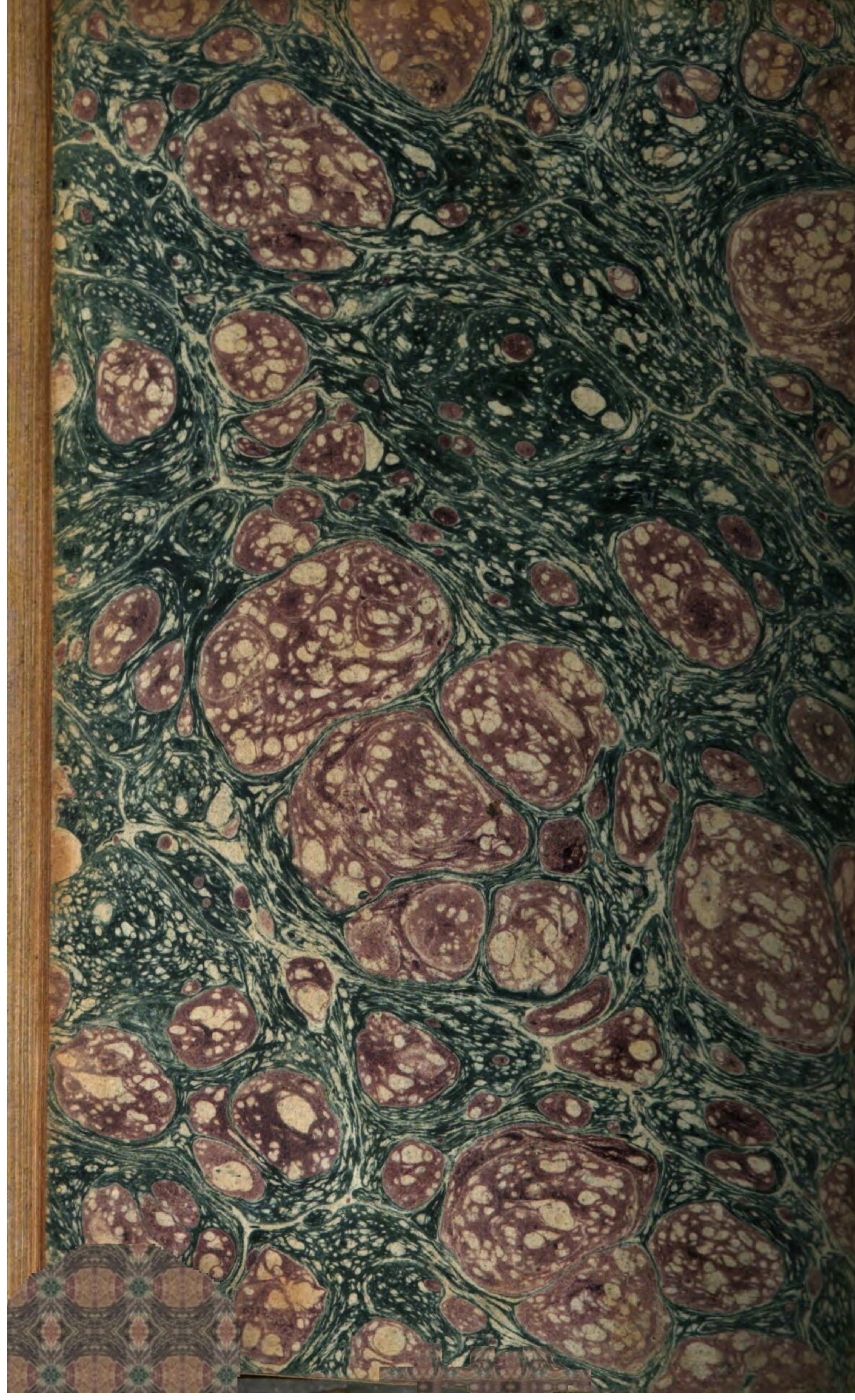
4. The

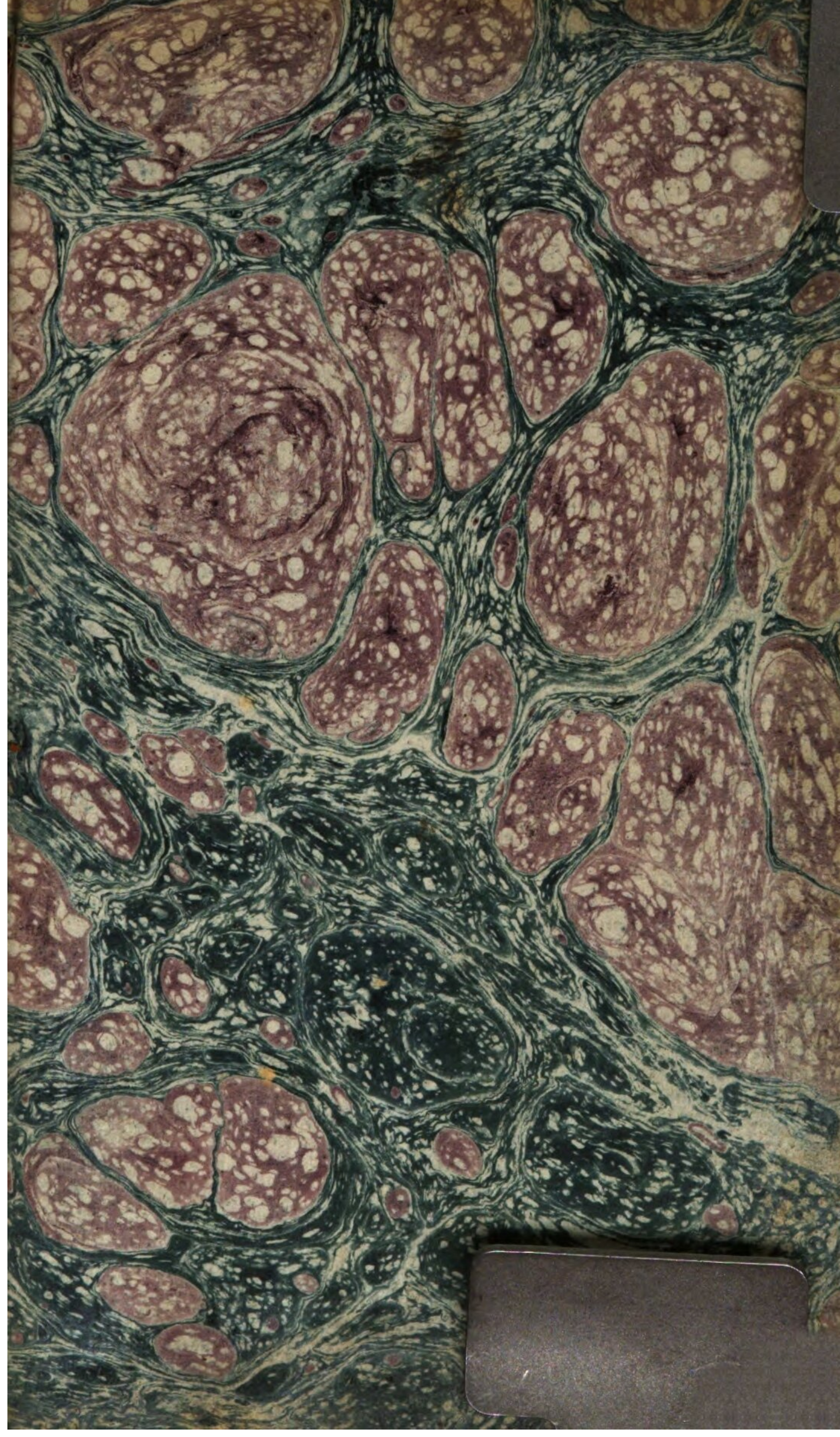
4. The king did not hold it as expedient or necessary to publish their motives to the world.

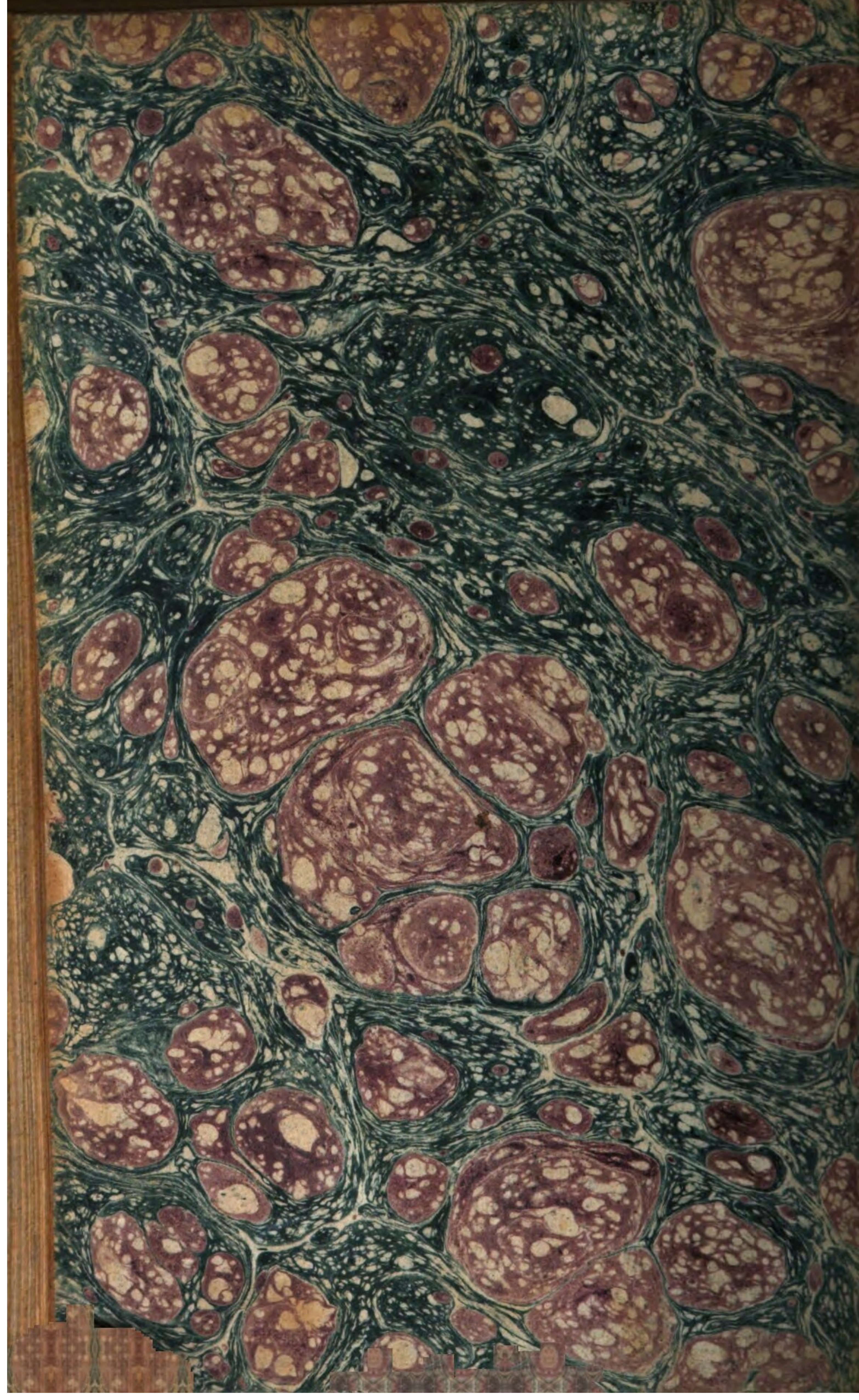
5. It appeared that the Prince of Scotland 'departed this life, *through Divine Providence, and not otherwise.*' The reader will determine as to the import of this phrase. If by it a natural death was intended, the circumlocution seems strange and affected.

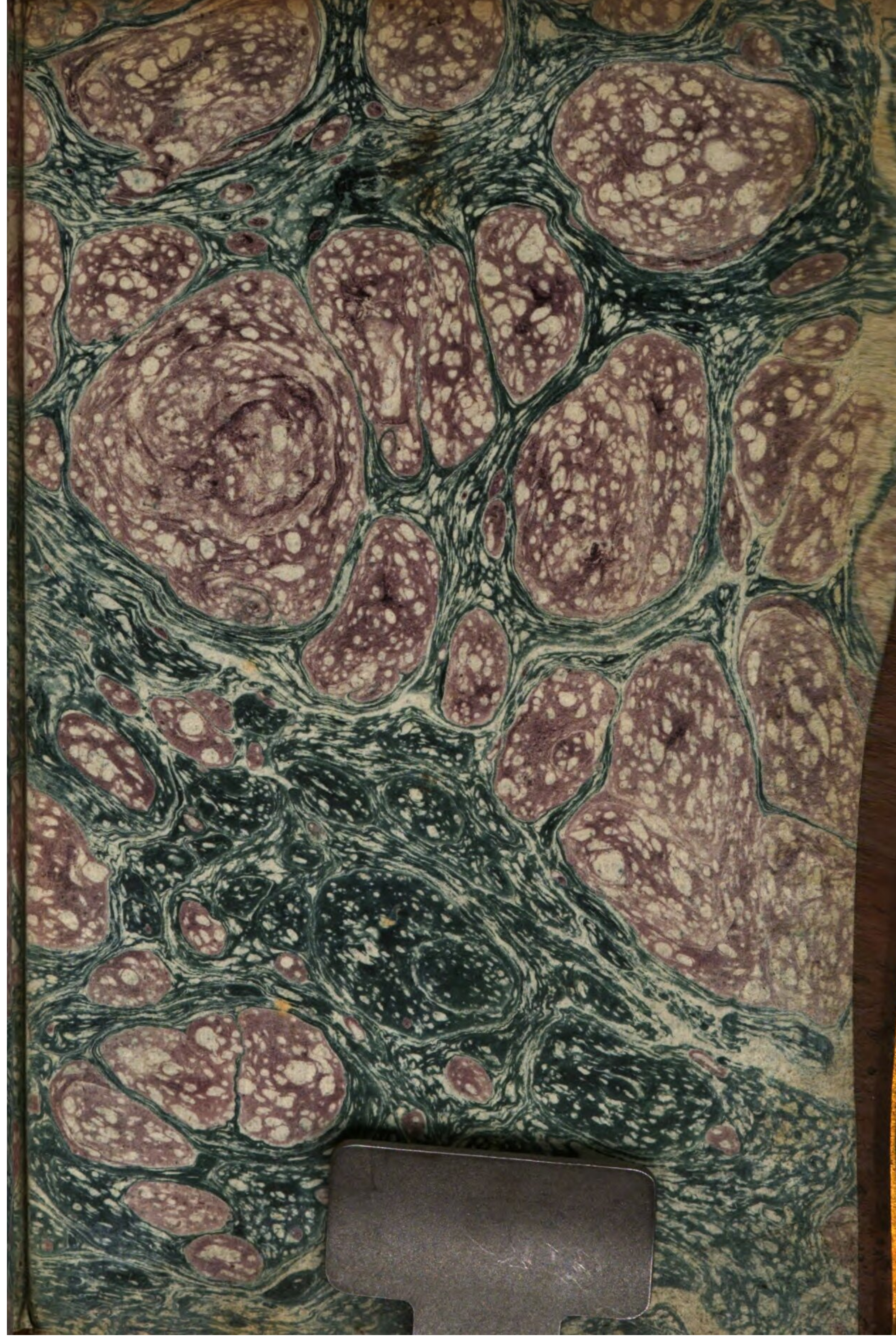
6. The Duke of Albany and the Earl of Douglas obtained a remission in terms as ample as if they had actually murdered the heir apparent.

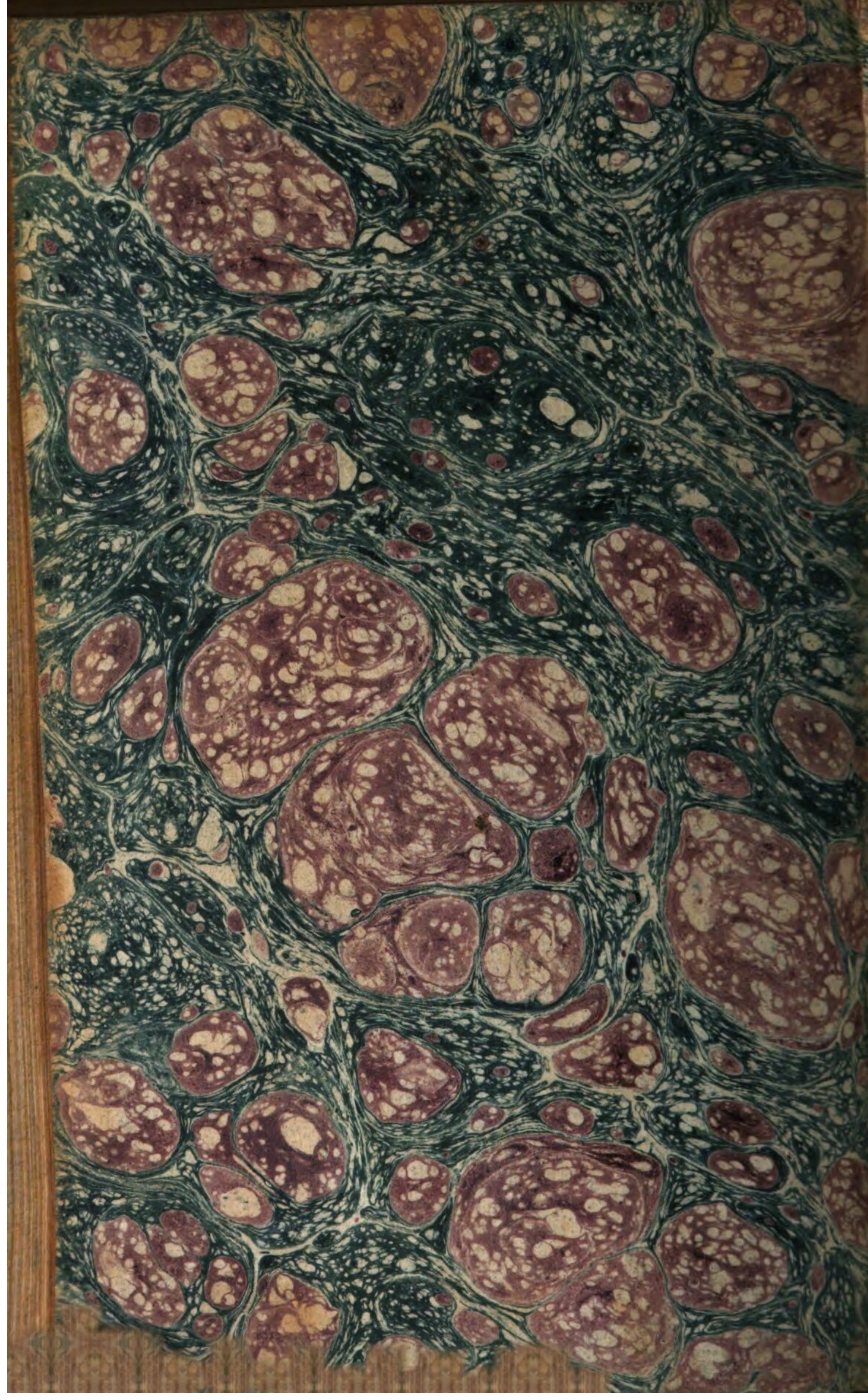
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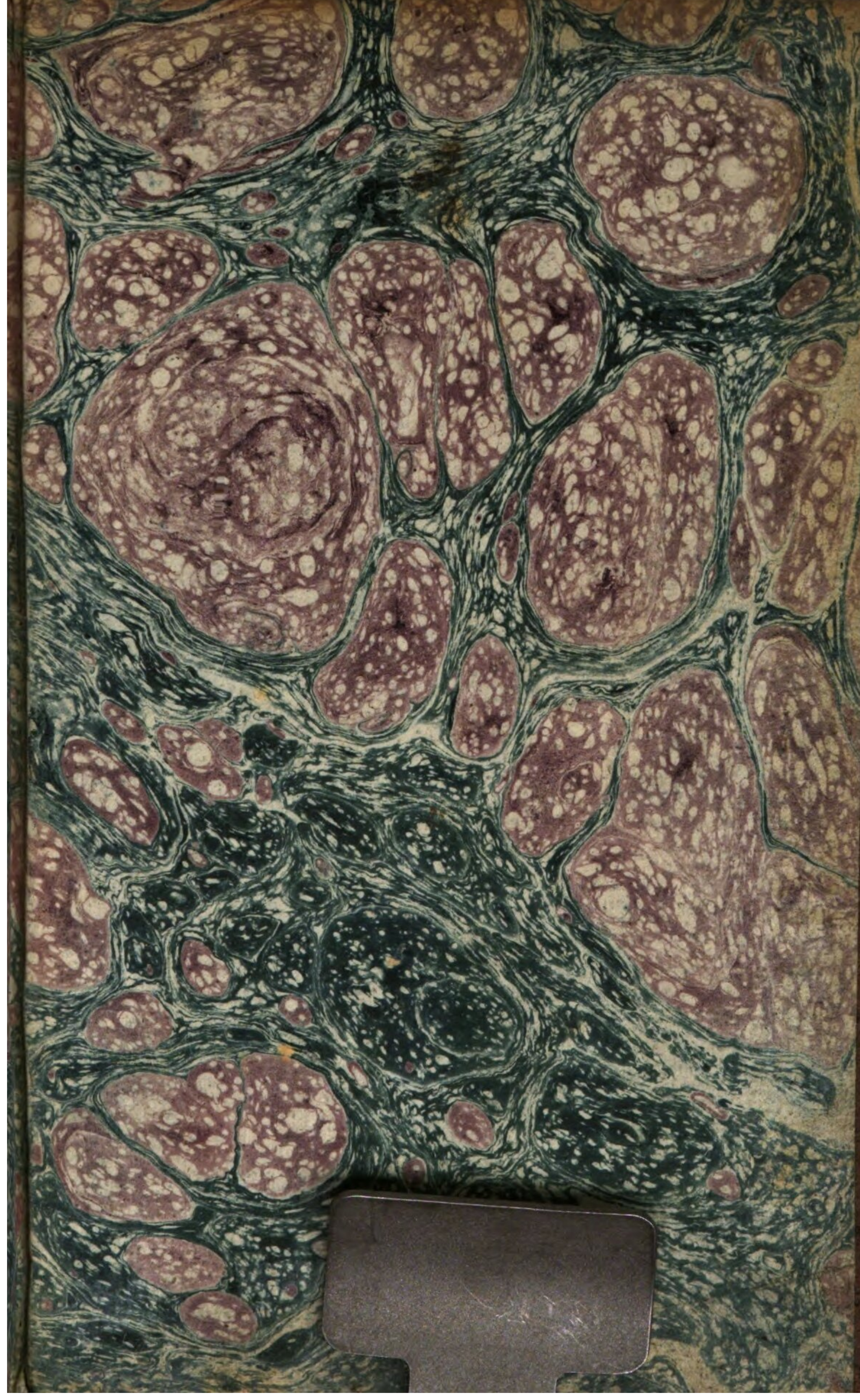


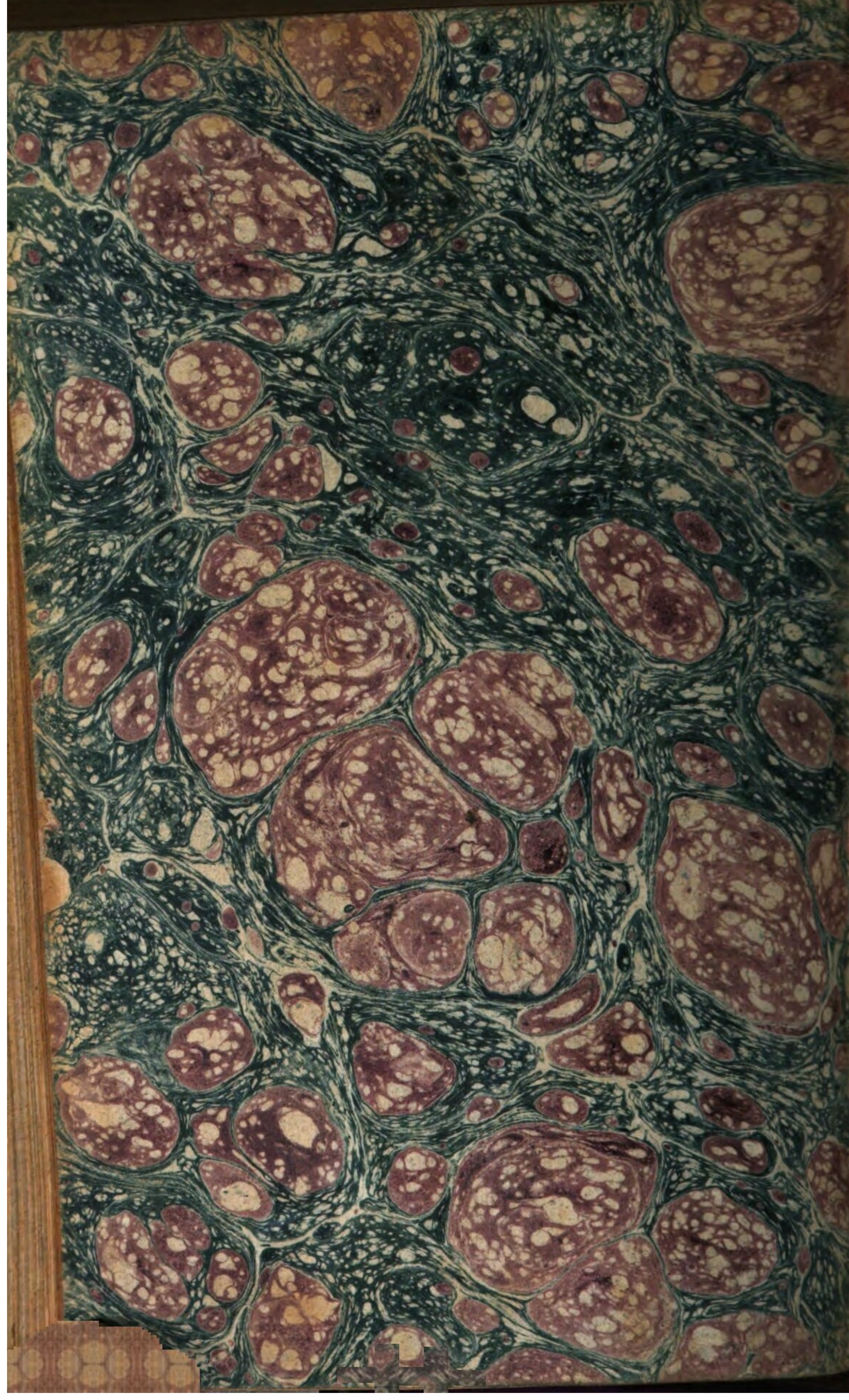


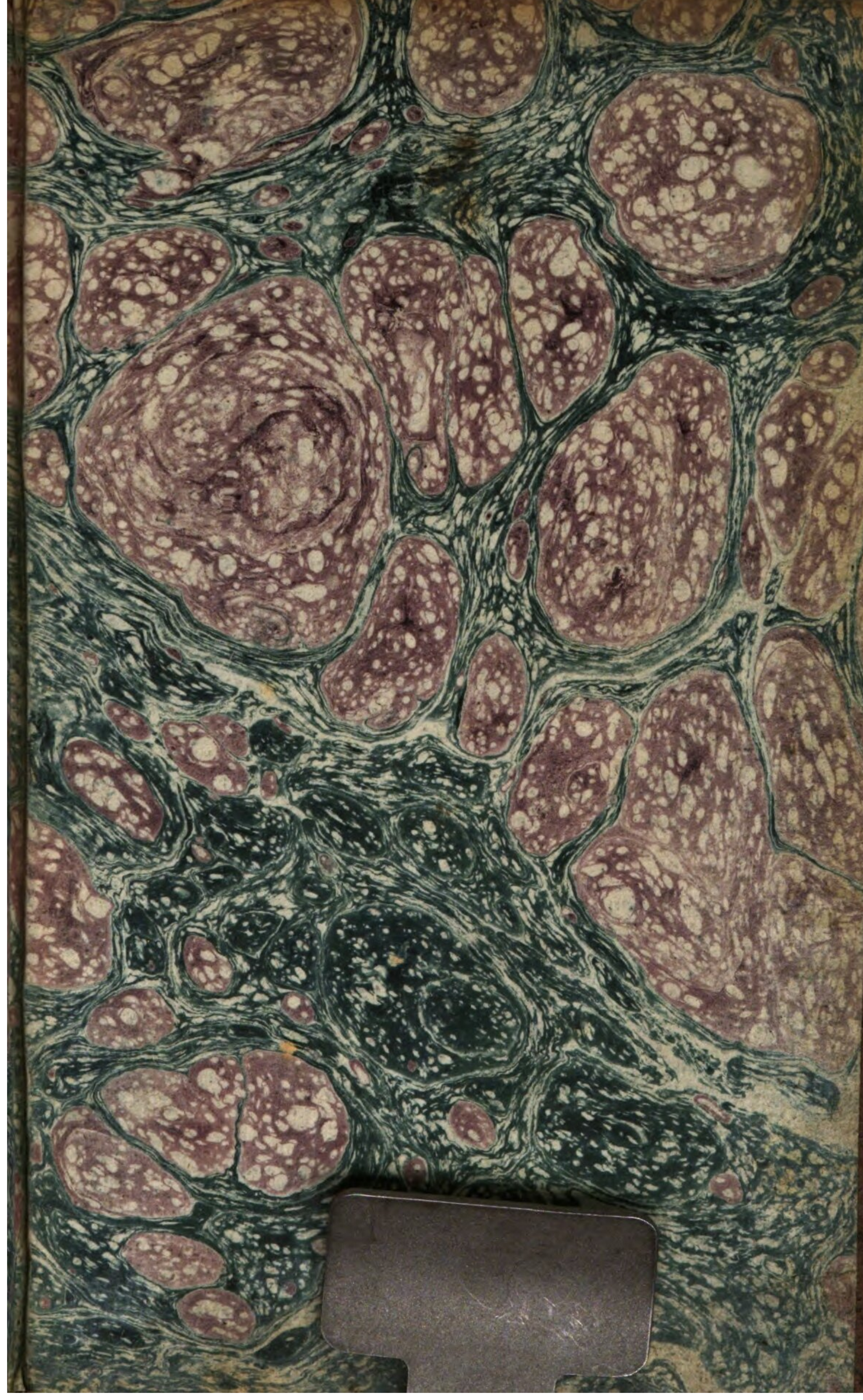


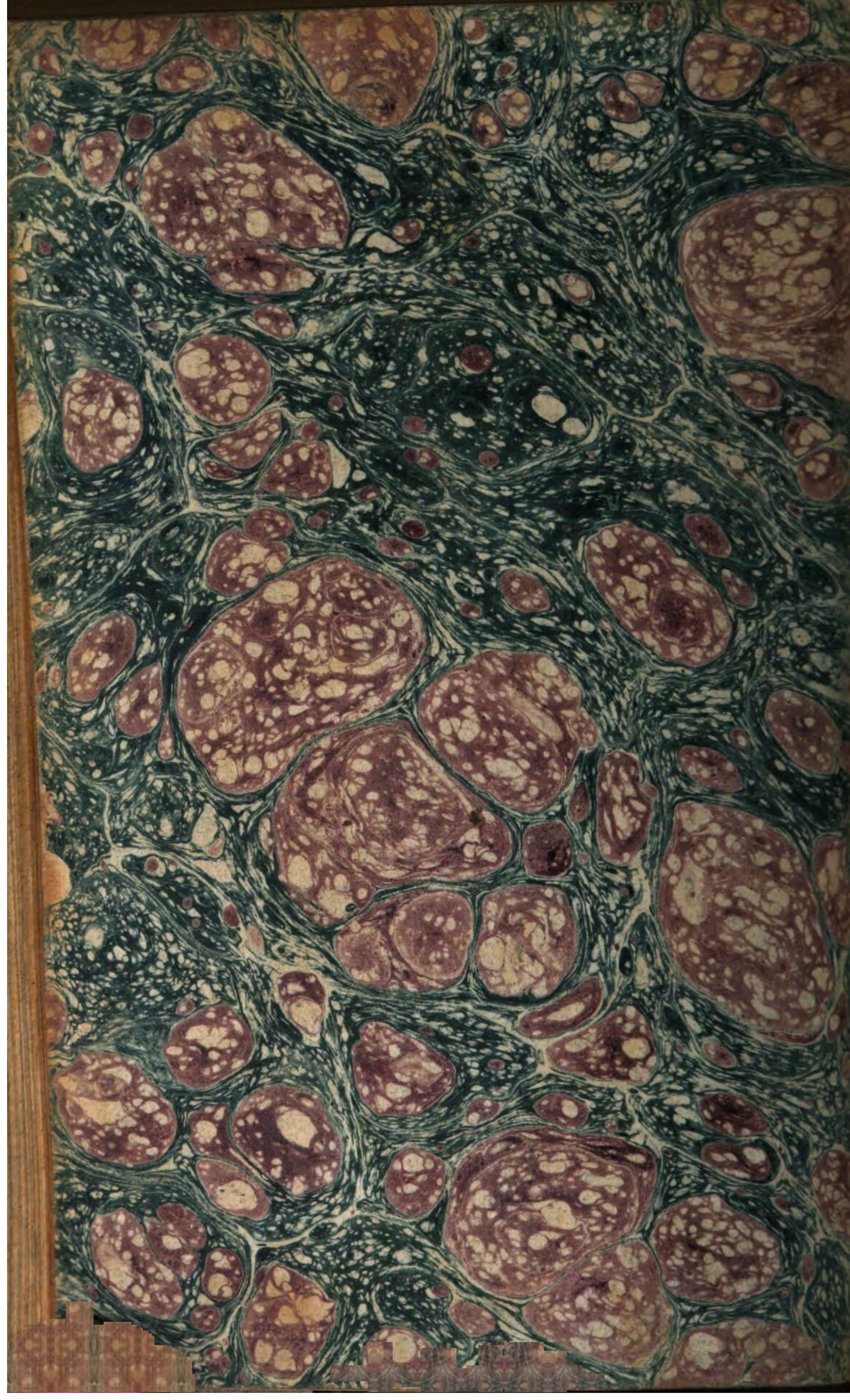


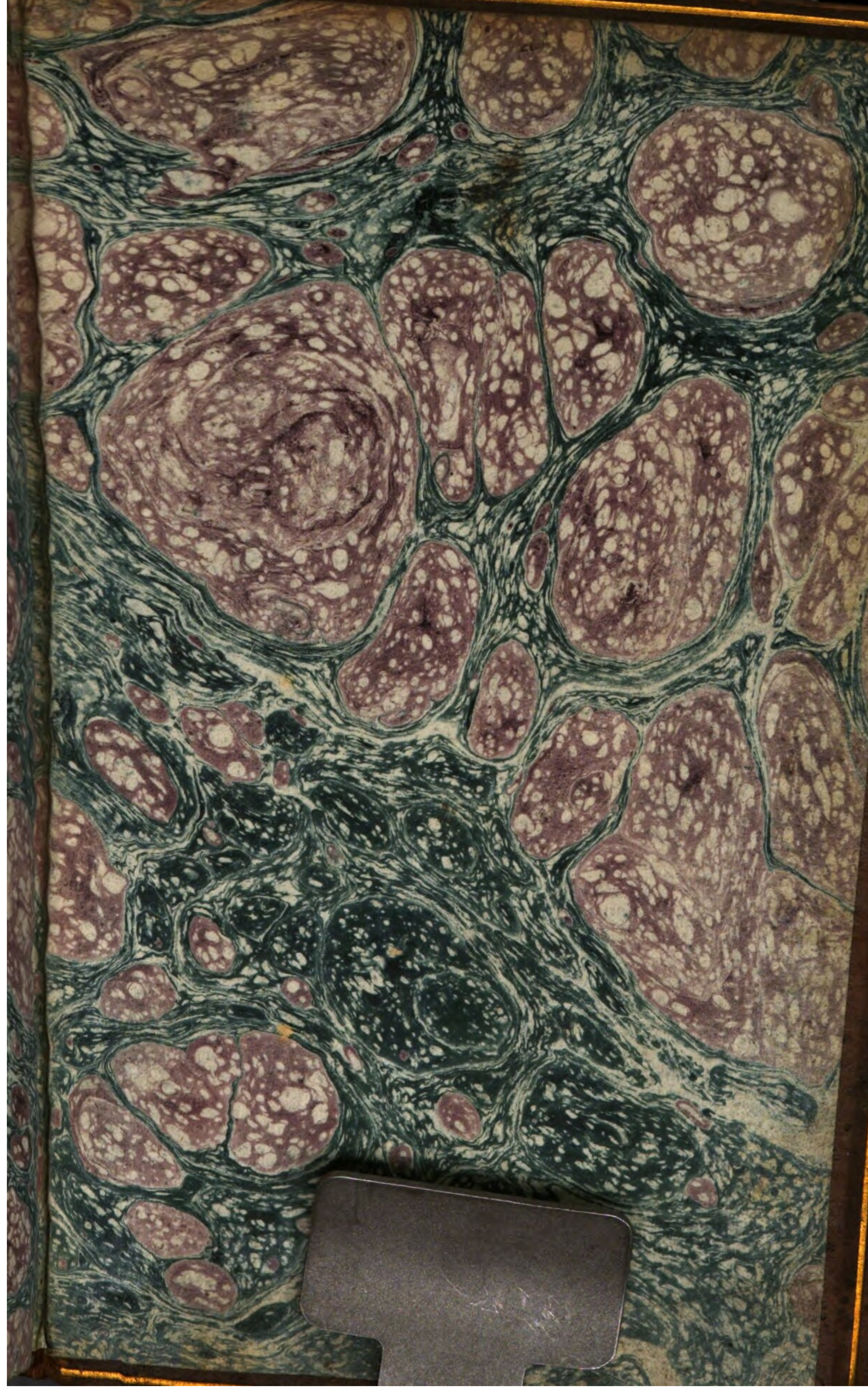












Dalrymple, David,

Remarks on the history of Scotland

Edinburgh 1773

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